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# Catholic Military and Naval Chaplains 1776 - 1917

BY

DOM AIDAN HENRY GERMAIN, S.T.L., M.A., J.C.B.

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to the Faculty of Philosophy of the Catholic University of America in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

WASHINGTON, D. C.
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# PREFACE

The contribution made by Catholic priests toward the welfare of the military and the naval service of the United States has never been told from the official records of our government, due, in large measure, to the inaccessibility of the files, the disorderly arrangement of papers from frequent moving of archives from one building to another, and the disinclination on the part of the government personnel to have documents handled by outsiders.

This handicap the present writer surmounted by applying to the Adjutant General's Office, presided over by the late Major-General Lutz Wahl, and at the Office of the Chief of Chaplains, Colonel John T. Axton (retired), where he was officially invited to inspect the archives. For the most part, they were contained in the State, War, and Navy Building, and in the Munitions Building.

This writer is greatly indebted to the above officers, particularly to the superintendents of Adjutant General's Office, 201, Lieutenant-Colonel Edward A. Brown, and Major Harry Coope. Of the Chief of Chaplains Office he is especially grateful to Chaplains Tarskey, Beebee, and Donoghue. Moreover, he is indebted to Chaplain C. H. Dickins, of the Navy Department, and in great measure to Eugene Leger, of the Civil Service, whose great knowledge and acquaintance with the archives proved of invaluable service. As to his professors at the Catholic University of America, the writer takes this opportunity to thank them, particularly Dr. John A. Ryan, professor of Economics; Dr. Jordan and Dr. Johnson, professors in the Department of Education; Dr. Guilday, Dr. Healy, and Dr. Schumacher, professors of history and biblical science in the school of Theology; and Dr. McCarthy, Knights of Columbus professor of American History. His especial thanks are extended to Dr. Leo Stock, under whose guidance this dissertation was written. To John J. Germain and Dom Daniel Kaib the writer is indebted for a painstaking and helpful examination of the entire production.

# INTRODUCTION

The term "chaplain" preceded, historically, the precise function with which modern chaplains are endowed. From its first known use, however, the word was applied to clerics, and apparently to clerics assigned to some military duty.

"Chaplain" is derived from the Latin word "capella" —a cloak, and it is a matter for speculation what manner of "cloak" is responsible for the origin of the word. One tradition is that a priest was the custodian, during battle, of the cloak of St. Martin of Tours, which the French kings for a long time wore on military campaigns, but laid aside to prevent desecration in actual battle. It is also held that the "chaplains" were so named because of the canopy, or cloak, underneath which they guarded the relics of the patron saint while battle was in progress.

From the first, at any rate, those clerics who had custody of the relics in the courts of the nobles were called chaplains. When the number of these threatened to become cumbersome, the King of France gave them a chief, deputing to him the "prerogative of the arch-chaplain". From the time of Charlemagne, this prerogative was vested in Bishops and Abbots, who assumed great importance in the affairs of the state.

Subsequently, priests with benefices neither parochial nor quasi-parochial—those conducting religious services in private families, or the courts of the nobles, those attached to hospices, or hospitals, those on troop-ships, etc., were all known as chaplains.

Army and Navy chaplains, in the modern acceptation, are said to have been first created by Alessandro Cardinal Farnese in 1587. Cardinal Farnese established a

permanent corps of twenty-five Army chaplains in that year, called the *missio castrensis.* Since then the term chaplain, as applied to an Army or Navy functionary, has come to be limited in proper usage to clerics ecclesiastically or legally delegated to attend to the spiritual needs of a military or naval unit. As to the organization of chaplains into corps, usage has varied. The system is now in force in the United States Army, having been adopted after the World War.

There are, unfortunately for the state of domestic concord our boasted advance in civilization would presuppose, certain groups among us utterly averse to recognizing any virtue whatever in Catholics, and who would be quite horrified at the allegation that Catholics were capable of American patriotism. These we must pass by, since their minds are firmly set against enlightenment on the subject; but there are others of perfectly fair disposition whose impression it is that the contributions of Catholics to the establishment of this nation were negligible, if indeed any were made, and there are Catholics who share this view. Without going into details about how this condition was brought about, we shall herein adduce sufficient facts completely to dispel it.

Preparatory to discussing Catholic chaplains in the United States Army and Navy, it seems advisable to descant on some generalities concerning Catholic work in the American Revolution. It may be stated right here that without Catholic help the Colonists would have failed most miserably to establish their independence. When we reflect upon the vital assistance rendered to our cause by Catholic France, that conclusion is inescapable. That historians should omit reference to the Catholicity of the 44,000 French troops sent over to aid us, or to that of the generals that led them, or to that of the king that sent them, is perhaps as it should be.[1] Perhaps, too, it is quite fitting that they should pass over the ser-

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[1] *Les Combattants Français De La Guerre Americaine 1778-1783,* (Paris, 1903).

vice of Count Dillon and his "Irlandais" among those French troops, as having no special significance. Yet historians record that in the time of dire need *the French king* obliged the Colonists with a loan of six million dollars. It would be altogether appropriate for them to state that this sum was raised and contributed by the Catholic Bishops and clergy of France;[2] it is altogether inappropriate, we contend, for them to state as they do, that this gift came from the French king, and then not explain from whom he received the money.

Let us agree that it is not the office of the general historian to record Catholic deeds in the American Revolution as such. As the omission, however justified, tends to reflect upon the Americanism of Catholics, it devolves upon us to note that the powers that furnished the Colonists with financial and military aid—without which American success would have been unthinkable—were all Catholic; *i. e.*, France, Spain, the Catholic provinces of the Netherlands, and the Spanish possessions surrounding the English Colonies. Not to be ignored, either, are the Catholic Indians of Maine under Chief Orono, and the French inhabitants of the Illinois country.

The attitude of Spain was a benevolent one from the beginning, and in a few years she definitely enlisted herself in the Colonists' behalf. Her part was to deflect British men-of-war from their operations against the Americans, which she did by waging war on Great Britain after 1779. Great glory be to John Paul Jones and his heralded naval exploits; but thanks be to the God of Hosts that Spain had the ships and the heart to give the doughty Scot's deed permanent value! "The precise nature of Spain's contribution to our independence is disclosed in the Oliver Pollock Papers in the Library of Congress. Pollock was the American agent in the Spanish settlements at New Orleans and along the Mississippi.

[2] See facsimiles of documents from Archives Nationales in Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress, labelled "France and Loan to the United States, 1780, U. S. R."; *American Catholic Historical Researches*, vol. 26, pp. 49-56.

Through him the American cause won the co-operation of Count Alexander O'Reilly, the Spanish Commander at New Orleans, whose successor, Bernardo Galvez, continued this friendship by fighting and harassing the English, keeping them off the Mississippi, and driving them out of Florida."[3] These blows inflicted upon Great Britain a succession of reverses which proved a permanent advantage to the United States. Galvez's campaign wrested from England such places as Natchez, Mobile, and Pensacola. Since President Monroe acquired Florida from Spain in 1822, it is interesting to inquire whether Florida would be a part of the United States if Great Britain had been suffered to remain in possession during and after the war. Needless to say, while Galvez was effacing the centers of British power, he was co-operating with Pollock, who had been diligently sending up the Mississippi and the Ohio both supplies and men. The Oliver Pollock Papers have been given to the Library of Congress by the Daughters of the American Revolution.

Concerning Holland it evokes unusual interest to observe that as late as 1926 Dr. Edler, former secretary to Count von Bernstorf, who cannot be accused of any predispositions to Catholicism, received a Doctor's degree from George Washington University partly on the merits of a dissertation, entitled: "The Relation of Holland to the American Revolution". This paper is printed as a Johns Hopkins University publication.[4] The work lends this testimony—that Catholics, of all elements making up the population of Holland, were conspicuous in their sympathy for America.

Continuing the function left open to us by the reticence we have conceded to be proper in general historians, we may mention the religious faith of a few of the indi-

[3] McCarthy, "The Attitude of Spain During the American Revolution" in the *American Catholic Historical Review*, II, pp. 47-65; *Catholic Encyclopedia*, XV, p. 163. Oliver Pollack subsequently became a Catholic.

[4] *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science*, XXIX, no. 2, 1911.

viduals who played prominent parts in the winning of American independence—Rochambeau, Pulaski, Kosciusko, Commodore Barry, Charles Carroll, his cousin Father John Carroll, La Fayette (died a Catholic), General Moylan, and Thomas Fitz Simons—as Roman Catholic.

Chaplains, in the sense we have described, form the subject of our story, and we are compelled, in mentioning the Catholic facts of American history, to record that Catholic priests served as chaplains with the American forces in the Revolution. Over ninety accompanied the French troops, and we find that at least one chaplain was regularly appointed in the Continental Army.

There are other agencies of a Catholic character contributory to the success of the American Revolution that will receive their due consideration as the story of the Catholic chaplains is unfolded. This work covers a period of one hundred and forty years, and indicates the official records of Catholic priests engaged as chaplains with the armed forces of the United States. Their merited praises are unsung. They are the silent heroes in the vanguard of war. They have been with the nation from the beginning. Their number has steadily increased from a paltry few to the significant number of 1600 Catholic chaplains in the World War. Since their record in the world conflict has been written by Monsignor Waring,[5] this work will extend to the time of our declaration of war against Germany.

If there are any reflections sponsored by a perusal of this book, they ought to spring from a genuine conception of the fact that this is not a Protestant nation, nor was its foundation Protestant. On the other hand, neither is it Catholic. The United States owes its inception, its birth, and its maintenance, to both Protestants and Catholics.

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[5] George J. Waring, *United States Catholic Chaplains in the World War* (New York, 1924).

It is our purpose to present an accurate account of the service rendered by Catholic priests as military and naval chaplains. To keep within the confines of that subject, it becomes necessary to omit from our list of chaplains the names of those priests found not in the official records of the government but in secondary sources whose genuineness and authenticity are open to question. The number of unofficial chaplains is legion—they merit praise, it is true, but only passing consideration, in this work. *A fortiori,* there will be no reference to priests that served the government in any other capacity, *e. g.* Rev. Charles Pise, the Chaplain of the United States Senate; Rev. Gabriel Richard, a delegate in Congress; or Archbishop Hughes, who was intrusted with a diplomatic mission by President Lincoln.

# CHAPTER I

## 1776-1846

### Rev. Louis Lotbiniere

Divine Providence, the ultimate Historian, has written the Roman Catholic priest, in bold letters, into every important episode of the evolution of the American nation. From the remotest origins of the nation-forming process to the day of our republic's entry into the front rank of civilized peoples, the efforts of Catholic clergymen have contributed to the fulfillment of America's world purpose. Roman Catholic chaplains have been attached to our military bodies in every war the United States has waged since the Mexican War. They even figured prominently in the War of Revolution, which, in view of the Colonial reaction to the Quebec Act, almost defies understanding, and is most difficult to explain satisfactorily. The chief features of the Quebec Act, it will be remembered, were the granting to Catholics of full political rights, and the incorporation of the Ohio territory into the Province of Quebec. Colonial indignation knew no bounds; the First Continental Congress, summoned largely because of this act, addressed an appeal to the people of Great Britain denying the right of Parliament to establish a religion in Canada "fraught with sanguinary and impious tenets", and materializing "Bloody Mary" with lavish verbal ectoplasm.[1] A like remonstrance was addressed to the Crown. Canada marked these proceedings, and drew appropriate conclusions. Apparently having no vague surmise that Catholic Canadians might resent this thrust at their freedom

[1] *Journals of the Continental Congress*, I, pp. 87-89, 115-120 (New York, 1801-1802).

of worship, Congress simultaneously addressed to them an appeal for support of the Colonial cause, *being too well assured of Canadian liberality* to fear that "the difference of religion will prejudice you against a hearty amity with us".[2] The next day a commission was appointed to win over Canada, comprising Samuel Chase, Benjamin Franklin, and Charles Carroll of Carrollton. Congress urged the latter to persuade his illustrious cousin, Father John (later Bishop) Carroll to join the commission.[3] Father Carroll did so, but with the misgivings natural to so unpromising an enterprise.

The sequel was the logical one. Bishop Briand, foremost Canadian ecclesiastic, challenged a reconciliation between the Congressional appeals to the British people and the Crown and that to Canada. The commission, as might have been foreknown, received short shrift from this prelate. Moreover, it appeared that Canada, as a whole, was contented with the turn of events under British rule, and totally unprepared for the folly of embracing the cause and the probable fate of the bigoted Colonists. Bishop Briand forbade his flock to aid the Americans, and threatened any who should join the Continental Army with the severest ecclesiastical censures.[4]

Father Carroll felt all the force of this stinging rebuff, but fired by an unquenchable patriotism, resolved to find what compensation the impassé with Bishop Briand afforded. Nor was this lacking; for the formation of two Canadian regiments finally crowned the efforts of the Congressional mission.

One of these regiments was commanded by Colonel Livingston, and a chaplain was appointed to it in the person of Father Louis Eustace Lotbiniere, through the

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[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Ibid*, IV, p. 148.

[4] J. G, Shea. *Life and Times of Archbishop Carroll*, p. 145 (New York, 1886-1892); Jones, *History of the Campaign for the Conquest of Canada*, p. 156 (Philadelphia, 1882).

agency of General Benedict Arnold.[5] A contemporary patriot, the Chevalier de Manduil du Plessis, recounts that Father Lotbiniere was a member of one of the richest and most respected families of the French nobility in Canada.[6] This French-Canadian priest, receiving his commission thus early in the struggle for independence, was the first Catholic chaplain in the Army of the United States.

Father Lotbiniere was born in the diocese of Quebec on August 15, 1715, and was raised to the priesthood on September 23, 1741. His attachment to the Continental cause began with the invasion of Canada by Generals Arnold and Montgomery. A warm friendship sprang up between the priest [7] and the gallant Irishman who was destined to die for the American cause, and the heroic New Havener who subsequently was led to betray his country. The initial successes of the tattered dare-devil Yankees in Quebec intrigued the Canadian mind. When the enthusiastic youth of the province attached themselves in goodly numbers to the Continental standard, public opinion in Quebec was not offended. A change of sentiment set in when fortune, after dallying with the Americans, transferred her favor to the Redcoats. At that time Bishop Briand played his trump card. Bishop Briand was Great Britain's greatest asset in Canada, and the prime Canadian thorn in the side of the Yankees. His Lordship categorically denounced the Colonists' attempt to win Canada over, forbade his clergy to have any relations with the Americans, excommunicated every Canadian who had enlisted or should enlist in the Continental ranks, and denied them the last sacraments unless they should publicly atone for disobeying the episcopal command. Nevertheless two Canadian regiments were formed, as aforesaid, and Father Lotbiniere

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[5] Peter Force, *American Archives*, I, p. 1604 (Washington, 1837).

[6] *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia*, XV, p. 70, 1904.

[7] *Ibid.*

became the chaplain of that commanded by Livingston.[8] Concerning the Sulpician—Pierre Huet de la Valiniere—the official records are silent. Numerous references to Chaplain Louis Lotbiniere are to be found in the *Journals of Congress* and the *American Archives;* and Heitman records his name among the officers of the Continental Army.

The generosity of such foreign military officers as LaFayette, Kosciusko, Pulaski, De Kalb, and Steuben, in sacrificing upon the altar of American freedom has created in their behalf a debt of gratitude that time cannot liquidate. No less generous than theirs was the oblation of this French-Canadian priest whom the new-born American ideal had charmed. Father Lotbiniere surrendered a most comfortable living when he embraced the American cause, besides incurring episcopal censure. By his own account, his property consisted of "1200 bushel all all grains, wheat, peace sat (?) and my herdship, and two houses at Quebec, the revenue of all together did amount to 750 pounds philadelphia".[9] When we realize that, in exchange for this munificent income, Father Lotbiniere, then over sixty years old, became heir to the paltry fare of a soldier and the hardships of a crude military campaign, together with a salary of 1500 livres per annum, we feel the irresistible impulse to examine his motives. The first hypothesis that would occur to a kindly mind, and the one that the evidence in hand strongly supports, is that the deep-seated aspirations of these dauntless ragamuffins from the Colonies, together with the glowing representations of Generals Arnold and Montgomery, influenced the romantic soul of this priest with an abiding zeal for the American cause. Anti-Catholic bias is unfortunately proverbial in the earlier histories of the United

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[8] Francis Heitman, *Historical Register of Officers of the Continental Army During the War of the Revolution April 1775 to Dec. 1783*, p. 357 (Washington, 1914).

[9] Papers of the Continental Congress—State Department, no. 42, vol. IV, p. 418.

States, however, and we find two of our authorities attempting to detract from the unselfishness of this good priest in daring the perilous fortunes of the Yankees.[10] Prompted by a gesture of liberality in mentioning him at all, these historians immediately seek to offset this *lapsus* by imputing to Father Lotbiniere a motive of sordid ambition. With overreaching malice, they demolish their own charges by making them too ridiculous to be entertained by any but an utter imbecile. *General Arnold,* they tell us, was to make Father Lotbiniere Bishop of Quebec, in order that he might absolve the Canadians who had joined the Americans, and raise the bann on such enlistments. A wealthy priest—over sixty years of age—is enticed to abandon all his goods in exchange for a *promise* of the bishopric of his diocese from the hands of a *Protestant* general, representing a government of no influence or repute—a group of weak colonies in the very exigency of rebellion, and with the auspices of certain defeat staring them in the face. Unless Father Lotbiniere were weak and feeble of mind and distorted and blurred in vision, he knew that bishoprics were made at Rome, and were not the pawn of insurgents or rebels. To gainsay the opinion that the Canadian clergyman was mentally unbalanced or unworthy of the reverence of posterity, the testimonials of tribute from such leaders as Du Plessis, who ranked high in the service of the American patriots, and who knew Lotbiniere intimately, ought to set at rest forever all evil interpretations and speculations as to the motive that prompted this good priest to join the armed forces of the Colonies. So gullible an old dotard as is here portrayed, if his mental condition can be conceived as consistent with a physique sufficiently robust to withstand the vicissitudes of revolutionary warfare, would soon have been dismissed by his regiment as an incompetent. It is not recorded of our generals that they kept lunatics with them as soothsayers.

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[10] *Historical Magazine,* 1867, p. 103; *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society,* XV, p. 70.

Neither would Congress have continued his pay, as it did for years after the expiration of his duties as chaplain.[11]

The American attempt upon Canada, brilliant as were its initial successes, ended disastrously, and Arnold's army, together with the new Canadian regiments, moved to the vicinity of Philadelphia. Here Father Lotbiniere served the greater part of his chaplaincy. The question arises as to what faculties he enjoyed in the administration of the sacraments, since he was excommunicated by his own Bishop, and no light on this subject is available from any source. Although he was under the bann of excommunication as a priest of the diocese of Quebec, it must not be forgotten that from time immemorial Canon Law has permitted even to excommunicated priests the faculty of granting absolution to those in "periculo mortis". Furthermore, the fact that the Canadian troops had given up their country and swore allegiance to the United States removes them entirely from under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Quebec. Too much stress must not be laid upon the assertion that, during the Revolution, the granting of faculties could only have come from the Vicar-Apostolic of London or the superior of the Jesuits in Maryland, Father Lewis, whom Rome had entrusted with the dispensing of faculties to the priests of the American mission.[12] We know this only from retrospect; whether the information was in general circulation in those troublous times, or whether Father Lotbiniere knew it, can only be surmised. We do know that Father John Carroll, who was appointed to succeed the Jesuit Superior in the granting of faculties, refused faculties in 1786 to Father de la Valiniere, the Sulpician, oft-reputed chaplain of Hazen's regiment. Nevertheless, Father Lotbiniere may have enjoyed them during the progress of the Revolution from Father Lewis. If not, may not the confusion and the chaotic state of the Church have impelled him to conclude in all honesty that he could exercise them for the benefit of the "cura animarum"?

[11] *Records of the American Catholic Historic Society*, chap. XV, p. 70.
[12] *Ibid.*

At all events, every theologian knows that whoever came to him as *penitents* were absolved in view of common error.[13]

Congress was very remiss in making monthly payments to Father Lotbiniere, and as a consequence most of the references to him are related to his requests for pay.[14] That illustrious body had sanctioned Arnold's agreement to pay him 41 and 30/90 pounds a month as long as he lived, but due to financial distress, Congress was compelled to give a deaf ear to the pleadings of the Chaplain on more than one occasion, which explains the letters in which Father Lotbiniere complains of cold and starvation. Since the pay itself was scarcely able to support him, he sent the following letter to the President of Congress:

> Sir January 2, 1786
> I send to your Excellency a petition for the Congress in assembly. I hope that your Excellency will be good enough to Read it. I was to insert in this petition, what I write to your Excellency in particulare: but this petition would be to long.
>
> Sir I sie with a great great grief these united states, Respected of all Europe for their union; now disunited: this honourabble Congress alwais prudent and wise in his actions, formerly respected of these united states now despised of these disunited states: which would presume to deprive this honourable assembly of all powers, even money, which the people give no more but to pay the debtes; and charges contracted with their one accord in the time or war to save their Estates and Lifes, it seems that they pretend to dissolve this respectable assembly to exercise a tiranik power, and vexe the people with more Liberty than they do now. indeed the

[13] D'Annibale, *Summa Theologiae Moralis*, vol. I (Rome, 1908), no. 79 (note 72), p. 65.

[14] *American Archives*, 5th Series, vol. I, p. 1604; vol. II, 1407-1408; vol. III, 642, 646, 1412, 1567.

frame of this gouvernment has been inspired by some tory in these states. it is a snare Laid to these imbecille and ignorants men who set in the house of these states, to make fall america in second bondage again.

For what will become of them? if this honourable assembly is constrained to break of for want Money to pay Either debt or charge? What shall they do? i. they cant depend opon one another, since they are disunited 2. France will turn the bake. 3. they will never find any good soldier, and the militia will not march. they are too angry for their plonderage. more Ever it is a poor troop. they will be cut in pice one after other. it is of the utmost consequence to these states to keep this honourable assembly, and to pay the respect due to it. Since this assembly is conpounded with the delegates of all states: they are reputed to be the best of Every states. then this Respectable body must be invest of supreme authority, to name all judges the i, and 2d. the treasurer, the receiver of taxis the First and sub collectors of all towns both Large and small of these States. to give the order to the receiver to call to an account the collectors both county and sub collectors. to the treasurer to call to an account the receiver of taxis and assembly general compounded with all judges of Every town both Large and small to call on account the treasurer. then this Liberty purchased with the blood of so many good citizens, and so many fortune over-set, would be everlasting: strong enough to keep itself from the tyranik gouvernement. Like holland, gene, venise, but the first of the houses of town both Large and small in these states wont agree with it. they pretend by the authority they have usurped by the False votes of mob harmeless and Little people to plunder this money to appropriate it; and to pay the publik debts and Charges to give a small portion to the Congress as it were a favour from them.

I explain myself better to your Excellency. the interest has been in all time the head of all Evils in the world; in particular in these countrys. (the Lawyers whose the science consist for having written 3 or four month in the office of some other Lawyer) very gredy and covetous; at the time of election pretend to be president or mayor or alderman; brive the votes. and it is an easy thing to get from the mob 5 or 600 votes with 5 or 6 gallons of rum. this Little people have the order to present themself the first in this house; and before the honest people come. this assembly is broke of, and very often the most unworthy men are elected in spite of the very honest gentlemen. one proceed to the election of county and sub-collectors, and they and Elected after the people to pay the taxis settled by this house; in putting some in jail other in Execution Lay out at seven per cent this publik money (Like Thomas Fenemore) make wait for the Receiver of taxis, and the treasurer grow very riche in a Short time. the receiver of taxis, and the treasure are Elected in the time of assembly after the same manner and act like the Collectors. So that it is a very plunderage, and a tour of babel. the money of the poor people is to make riches the treasurer, receiver of taxis and collectors of these States and not to pay the Charges and debt. they are more tory than those who did oppose to the independency. your Excellency may be convinced that the King of France has made his alliance with your honourable assembly which did at that time represent all america, it was to humble england whose the power would be too strong, if this contone did keep these countrys yet France would be alwais good friend of america provided the states could continue to be united; but the King is informed of their disunion their plonderage upon the poor people of their states and disrespect for the Congress, is not contented at all. the ministry of France has got the Catalogu of the names of thos who Compound the assembly general of all States

the name of those who set in the house of town both Larger and Small the name of all treasurers, and Receiver of taxis of States and the name of all county and sub-collectors of these States. my Letter from the France ministry will be a proof of it. this Letter is dated the 28th Septembre 1786 (?). when it will question of it I will shew it.

I hope Sir that your Excellency will urge the honourable Congress to ordo me that I may be paid For it is Less Crime to Ordorr my death than to Kill me by inche in denying my pay and it is due to me 240 doll for two quarters from the first day of januarii 1786. I am with a profound Respect of your Excellency the utmost humble obedient servant [15]

Louis Lotbiniere
Priest of Canada

at burlington (N. J.)
2 januarrii
1786

After the war, from 1781-1784, Robert Morris, the Superintendent of Finance, was instructed to pay the chaplain $120 every quarter, as the financial records of Mr. Morris clearly testify, but from 1784-1786 he was not paid at all, and the last two letters to Congress, written two months before his death present the pathetic figure of an aged priest, seventy-one years of age, in a strange country, in utter poverty, without friends, appealing to the head of the government in a tongue he used with little facility.

Chaplain Lotbiniere died at Loretto, in the diocese of Quebec, on the 17th of October, 1786.[16]

## Father Floquet, S. J.

Some effort has been made in the foregoing sketch of Father Lotbiniere to clarify the difference between his

[15] *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society*, XV, p. 74.
[16] *Ibid.*

military status and that of Father de la Valiniere. The former was an official chaplain, his name being enrolled as such in the records of the War Department; the latter, so far as we can ascertain, was merely a vociferous pro-American, and no chaplain at all. True, certain Catholic writers treat of him as a chaplain with Hazen's regiment, but they adduce no evidence to support their contention.[17] Father de la Valiniere's name does not appear on the pay-rolls of the Continental Army; furthermore, the records of the War Department have been painstakingly scrutinized in the effort to find his name among the soldiers and officers of the Revolution; but all in vain. It seems that the claim that Father de la Valiniere was a chaplain is based upon his sympathetic interest in the Canadian mission, his intercourse with Carroll, and his outspoken advocacy of the American cause. His fiery tongue was so offensive to that fine delicacy of British sentiment that he was removed by Bishop Briand as a "perfect rebel".[18]

A case entirely different from the above presents itself in the record of the Rev. P. R. Floquet, S. J., of Montreal. His association with Colonel Hazen gave posterity the occasion to speak about the "priest in the company of Hazen", and in due time, de la Valiniere was erroneously considered to have been the priest. Research has revealed the facts about Father Floquet in considerable detail. This priest shared the vexation of the Colonists at the passage of the Quebec Act on June 13, 1774. When the American emissaries arrived in Canada, he welcomed Father Carroll, and quickly became friends with Colonel Hazen.[19] In defiance of Bishop Briand, he administered the sacraments to Hazen's levies. Regarding Father Floquet, Colonel Hazen himself says:[20]

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[17] *The Catholic Builders of the Nation*, III, pp. 289-290 (Boston, 1923).

[18] Guilday, *The Life and Times of John Carroll*, I, p. 85 (New York, 1922).

[19] *Ibid.*, pp. 102-103.

[20] Haldimand Papers, B. 27, p. 398, in *American Catholic Historical Researches*, V, p. 148.

> Gen. Wooster has ordered me to join him at Quebec with the handful of men I have, Calling it a regiment, not considering I am sure the situation I am in, a sample of it you see by Brandinoor's company, when nine out of twenty-two deserted on their way down. It will not do to break faith with the Canadians, and I know it is impossible to march from this until they are paid. Indeed, in all appearance, it has been in all difficulty that I have prevailed on them thus far to their duty, in which "Sier Floquette" has assisted by giving them absolution when every Priest in the country refused. He has now the name of My Chaplain.

In the early days of the Revolution, the colonel commanding a regiment, upon the consent of the other officers, appointed the regimental chaplain, sending the name of the appointee to the Continental Congress for confirmation. This formality is observed in the case of Father Lotbiniere, who was appointed by Generals Arnold and Montgomery, but confirmed by Congress. Later in the war, at the instance of General Washington, regimental chaplains were discontinued, and only one chaplain was allotted to a brigade.[21] We have sought to determine whether Colonel Hazen seriously considered following the first procedure in the case of Father Floquet, and thus making him official regimental chaplain; whether he referred the priest's name to the Continental Congress for confirmation. The supreme obstacle that stands between proof and disproof of these questions is the complete silence of the records.

Father Floquet presents his own version of his activities and interest for the party of the "Bostonnais", which is revealed in a letter to Bishop Briand, June 15, 1776. From this the following excerpt is taken:[22]

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[21] Burnett, *Letters of the Members of the Continental Congress*, I, pp. 313, 324, II, p. 376 (Washington, 1923-1928); Headley, *Chaplains and Clergy of the Revolution*, pp. 60-61 (New York, 1864); Johnson, *Chaplains of the General Government*, p. 9 (New York, 1856).

[22] *Catholic Historical Researches*, V, pp. 65-67.

Here is my public confession.—I do not like the Quebec Bill, and I have said so openly. This has made enemies for me of all those who are responsible for it.

I treated the *Bostonnias* considerately from human respect. Had I appeared as violent against them as did many others, the fury of the storm would have fallen on my head,—I being the only Jesuit in Montreal—should have served as an example to others, and I should perhaps have caused the persecution of our missionaries in Pennsylvania and in Maryland.

After the departure of the King's troops, the Montreal deputies promised the *Bostonnais* a true or else a false and deceitful neutrality. I believe that they promised a true one, and that the promise should have been kept. I advised others to keep it and kept it myself, the which rendered me more tolerant to both parties in the tribunal of penance.

Mr. Hazen, a *Bostonnais* Colonel, commanded in Montreal for some time. He restored to me the portion of our house which Mr. Murray had converted into a prison. I accepted this favour although unsolicited and I thanked the bestower. Mr. Hazen sent me a written invitation to dinner. I went once with an Irish priest, a royalist, who lived in our house and who had formerly been on intimate terms with Mr. and Mrs. Hazen.

At the close of the winter the *Bostonnais* had raised two companies of Canadian Militia—Lieber and Olivier. The newly enlisted men were in garrison in Montreal, when Easter tide commenced. Being asked to confess them, I consented to receive them if they could assure me that they would not go to the siege of Quebec, but merely do peaceful duty [at] Montreal.

Mr. Olivier having assured me of this, I allowed

myself to be won over. On Easter Tuesday in the afternoon I began to confess the least guilty though far from approving them. (Sans les approuver a beaucoup pres.)

Those who received permission to communicate mingled with the crowd in the Parish Church up to Low Sunday inclusively. The Tuesday after Quasimodo, three laggart militiamen received absolution from me, and presented themselves at the Parish Church. They were there publicly refused. I consoled them and gave them Holy Communion in private. (Januis clausis.)

Such my lord, are my principal acts during last Winter and Spring, and they have called down upon me suspicion, exaggeration, malicious interpretation, detraction, calumny and animosity of many persons.

In truth, in conscience, and before God, am I, or have I been a *Bostonnais* rebel? No, my lord.

Last autumn when the loyal inhabitants assembled in Montreal for an expedition which failed, no one received them better, nor confessed and communicated more of them than I. I told those who consulted me, that they did well to offer themselves for service of the King, and that those who rebelled against orders did wrong. I have always had the *Domini Salvum* sung at our Benedictions and have offered the prayer for the King.

One Father Carroll, a missionary from Maryland, having come to Montreal with two members of Congress, presented himself to me with a letter from Father Farmer, first missionary of Philadelphia.

The Seminary saw this letter which contained nothing objectionable.

Nevertheless I did not reply to it. Father Carroll did not stay with me, and only took a meal with me

on one occasion. He said Mass in our house with the permission of Monsieur Montgolfier.

I have never said, written or done anything in behalf of Congress or of the United Colonies, nor have I received anything from them except our dilapidated house.

The cases of Floquet and de la Valiniere are parallel in so far as their names do not appear on the official lists, but the two cases differ in so far as the evidence bears testimony to the claim that Father Floquet was a quasi-chaplain of the United States Army, even if his service was rendered in an unofficial capacity.[23]

## Father Pierre Gibault

Few of our heroes can command a more hearty admiration from the American people than that daring frontier leader, George Rogers Clark, who, though he added the great Northwest Territory to our domain, cared scarcely a straw for the United States, and conquered in the name of Virginia. The exploit which, above all others recorded in our Revolutionary history, incites posterity to paeans at the lengths to which human fortitude may be exerted, was Clark's journey through the savage-haunted wilderness and the fording of the half-frozen Wabash. That this heroic march was crowned with two bloodless victories of the foremost importance to our national growth is no less a cause of wonder. Fundamental to this happy end was the diplomacy of Father Pierre Gibault, and his espousal of the American cause. Without the aid of this priest the fate of the Clark expedition would be a doubtful one, nor is it probable that the United States would, even now, extend beyond the territory of the thirteen original colonies.

Clark's first objective in this wilderness campaign was the village and stronghold of Kaskaskia. The Virginian's dauntless courage, together with his uncanny genius for

[23] *Ibid.*, XXIII, pp. 299-300.

employing the element of surprise whenever the odds of victory leaned critically to the adversary, affords some explanation of the capitulation of Kaskaskia, and the surrender of its garrison. Yet we are stayed from accepting this as an altogether sufficient reason by the knowledge that this village was inhabited by Creoles, whose attitude toward the Yankees and their designs was a thoroughly misapprehensive one. Well indeed it might have been, for memory of the Arcadian tragedy was still fresh, since a bare quarter of a century had elapsed in the meanwhile, and it had been no part of the British policy to let the Canadians forget the Yankee's share in the dispersion. The Creoles naturally thought that they could expect no quarter from these rough militiamen.[24] This Clark knew; but he also knew that they had a decided preference for American rule rather than English domination.[25] Equipped with such knowledge, and wishing to throw a sense of their helpless position into the scales of their choice, he projected himself upon them in the character of a merciless ruffian, thereby seeming to justify their worst fears.

Kaskaskia as a whole took Clark at his own unflattering appraisal, but the pastor, Father Gibault, seemed to sense flesh and blood in this alleged man of steel, and sent forth a committee of the townsfolk to attempt propitiation. Father Gibault showed himself a very diplomat, for the manner in which his committee addressed Clark was one calculated to prompt the general to a toleration committal. It was the committee's request that Clark allow them to hold a meeting in their Church. Clark, discarding his assumed brutality, magniloquently replied that such was ever their liberty, that America was tolerant of all churches, and that it was not his busi-

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[24] Milo M. Quaife, *The Capture of Old Vincennes—The Original Narratives of George Rogers Clark and of His Opponent Gov. Henry Hamilton*, p. 42 (Indianapolis, 1927); James A. James, *Life of George Rogers Clark* (Chicago, 1928), pp. 120-122.

[25] Quaife, xiii, p. 42.

ness to oppress, but to defend the Church.[26] This speech won the Creoles, and Father Gibault became Clark's fast friend, and a devoted patriot of the new nation. "To this priestly apostle of Americanism, next to Clark himself and Louis Vigo, the United States is more indebted for the states comprised in the old Northwest Territory than to any other man".[27]

Unlike the first Catholic chaplain of our military forces, Father Lotbiniere, Father Pierre Gibault had spent a comparatively short time in the ministry when attracted to the fortunes of the United States. Educated at the Seminary of Quebec, Father Gibault was ordained there on March 19, 1768.[28] Since the Cahokia mission had paid an annuity of three hundred livres toward his education, it was but fitting that he should adopt for his future field the territory of the Illinois, which embraced this mission. On the journey to his appointment, he stopped at the intervening settlements, and administered the sacraments to the French and Indians at Michili mackinac who had been for three years without priestly ministrations. When he arrived at the military and trading post of Kaskaskia, from which his superior, Father Meurin, had been conducting his apostolate, he found that elderly priest disposed to take up his residence in the dilapidated old buildings of the Cahokia mission. This left Kaskaskia in charge of Father Gibault, at which rejoicing was general, for the youthful missioner quickly found a place in the hearts of the populace.

That Father Gibault within a few months attained a higher status than that of assistant priest to Father Meurin is evidenced by an entry, dated September 8, 1768, in the baptismal register of the Immaculate Conception

[26] William Hayden English, *Conquest of the Country Northwest of the River Ohio 1778-1783 and Life of Gen. George Rogers Clark*, II, p. 63 (Indianapolis and Kansas City, 1896); Theodore Roosevelt, *The Winning of the West*, II, p. 48 (New York, 1894).

[27] English, pp. 183-184.

[28] *Ibid.*, p. 184.

Church, wherein he signs himself as "the parish priest at Kaskaskia".[29] There is no doubt that he was equally zealous in his priestly vocation as he subsequently proved himself in behalf of the new American republic. His congregation at Kaskaskia, he learned upon his advent there, had for the most part strayed from their religious duties and the reception of the sacraments. By conducting vesper-service in the town church every night, and catechism instructions four times a week, Father Gibault soon had the satisfaction of causing a revival of piety among his parishioners. In 1769 he had the happiness of seeing every member of his congregation fulfill the Easter precept. Not this priestly fervor alone, but Gibault's uncommon administrative ability, induced Father Meurin to request of Bishop Briand that this young co-laborer be appointed Vicar-General. To this the Bishop of Quebec readily agreed. Father Gibault now (1769), besides the duties of the Kaskaskia mission, had to traverse a perfect empire of surrounding country, laboring both at Paincourt (St. Louis) and Vincennes, far to the northeast. His communicants were French and Indian, together with the Catholics in the 18th Royal Irish Regiment.[30]

We may plainly see that, having this priest on his side, a man of such energetic character and of commanding intellectual as well as spiritual influence among his people, George Rogers Clark might boast an alliance of no slight moment.

When the Americans began their fight for independence, Father Gibault secretly became their partisan. Through some channel this became known to Clark long before he set out for Kaskaskia.[31] It does not seem that Father Gibault realized Clark's knowledge; indeed, he may never have heard of Clark, for nothing could have appeared more unlikely than an American attempt upon

[29] *Ibid.*, p. 185.
[30] *Ibid.*, p. 186.
[31] *Ibid.*, p. 487; Quaife, p. 72.

the isolated posts of the Northwest Territory. With Clark's appearance before Kaskaskia, however, the possibility must have presented itself that Clark had been advised of his sentiments; at any rate, Father Gibault put the question of a common interest to a test, with the issue aforementioned. Kaskaskia having actually capitulated to Clark, and the latter manifesting none but friendly sentiments toward the Church, Father Gibault went to work in earnest for the United States. He determined to co-operate to the utmost with the Virginian in winning over the Northwest Territory. The first effect of his undertakings was the enthusiasm stirred up for the American cause among his own townsfolk and the French in Cahokia. Even the Spaniards across the Mississippi caught the spell and were drawn in sympathy towards Clark's purpose, while the Indians remained baffled and confused at the sudden turn or friendly relations on the part of the French and Spanish toward the "Big Knives".[32]

A cause of serious misapprehension to Clark was the British post at Vincennes, ostensibly impregnable and almost the despair of his small force. He called Father Gibault to him and outlined his plans and purpose for the capture of Vincennes.[33] For assurances of historical accuracy, it is best at this point to quote Clark himself:

> In answer to all my queries he [Father Gibault] informed me that he did not think it worth my while to cause any military preparation to be made at the falls of the Ohio for the attack of Post Vincennes, although the place was strong and a great number of Indians in its neighborhood, who, to his knowledge, were generally at war; that Governor Abbott had, a few weeks before, left the place on some business to Detroit; that he expected that when the inhabitants were fully acquainted with what had passed at the Illinois, and the present hap-

[32] English, *op. cit.*, p. 420.

[33] Quaife, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

piness of their friends, and made fully acquainted with the nature of the war, that their sentiments would greatly change; that he knew that his appearance there would have great weight, even among the savages; that if it was agreeable to me he would take this business on himself, and had no doubt of his being able to bring that place over to the American interest without my being at the trouble of marching against it; that his business being altogether spiritual, he wished that another person might be charged with the temporal part of the embassy, but that he would privately direct the whole, and he named Doctor Lafont as his associate.

This was perfectly agreeable to what I had been secretly aiming at for some days. The plan was immediately settled, and the two doctors, with their intended retinue, among whom I had a spy, set about preparing for their journey, and set out on the 14th of July, with an address and great numbers of letters from the French to the inhabitants, and letters to Mr. Gibault.[34]

At Vincennes, meagre as might have been the information as to American purposes and present military fortunes, there was a strong undercurrent of pro-American sentiment, just as there had been at Kaskaskia. This a priest pre-eminently the father of his flock as the assiduous Pierre Gibault would have been in a position to surmise; but upon his arrival at Vincennes and broaching his objects all question vanished. Only his word had been needed to seal the attachment of the Vincennes French to the revolutionaries; for "after their spending a day or two in explaining matters to the people, they universally acceded to the proposal (except a few emissaries left by Mr. Abbott, who immediately left the country), and went in a body to the Church, where the oath of allegiance was administered to them in the most solemn manner. An officer was elected, the fort immediately

[34] English, *op. cit.*, p. 488.

(garrisoned), and the American flag displayed, to the astonishment of the Indians, and everything settled far beyond our most sanguine hopes. The people here immediately began to put on a new face and to talk in a different style, and to act as perfect freemen. With a garrison of their own, with the United States at their elbow, their language to the Indians was immediately altered".[35]

Meanwhile Father Gibault returned to Kaskaskia, much to the relief of Clark's anxiety. His next mission was to gain over the Indians, particularly "Tobacco's Son, the great door to the Wabash". Father Gibault successfully accomplished this end, and before long, Clark and Tobacco's Son were brought together in a conference.[36]

The subsequent fall of Vincennes in all its details is well known and not necessary to repeat here. Clark was left at Kaskaskia with but two companies when the exigency of making a forced march upon Vincennes arose. He soon realized a solution to the grave situation, "for the very best of their (Kaskaskia) young men had volunteered to go on the campaign".[37]

This leads us to the real cause for the appearance of Father Gibault's name in these columns. He not only won over the people of Kaskaskia to Clark, not only accomplished diplomatic relations with the Indians, not only captured the town of Vincennes for the United States without firing a gun, but also acted as chaplain to the forces of Clark that marched out of Kaskaskia on the expedition to Vincennes. Whether General Clark appointed and commissioned him as chaplain on this occasion may never be known, but the fact is outstanding that Father Gibault *was* a chaplain and more, indeed, to his boys that marched away.[38] "The whole population turned out to see them off—many from curiosity, but

[35] *Ibid.*, pp. 488-489; Quaife, *op. cit.*, p. 74.
[36] English, *op. cit.*, p. 490; Quaife, *op. cit.*, p. 75.
[37] English, *op. cit.*, p. 287.
[38] Quaife, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

many relatives were there—fathers and mothers, sisters and lovers, with anxious hearts to bid them adieu to dear ones they might not see again.

"The occasion was a most interesting one, not only because of its then surroundings, but far more because results followed from this campaign which changed the boundaries of nations, and made an impress upon coming ages. Father Gibault was there, to absolve the troops and address them in the glowing words the occasion naturally inspired".[39]

Well might George Rogers Clark speak of Father Gibault as his friend, for not only did this loyal priest share in Clark's march and triumph; he also shared his unhappy lot, experiencing, like Clark, the "ingratitude of republics". In vain did both seek from Congress what the United States owed them in simple justice. Clark, refused the monetary recompense that his labors had called for, became a sullen drunkard, and was somewhat involved, some think, in Aaron Burr's conspiracy. When Father Gibault, in the days of peace, requested the assistance of the United States to ward off starvation, the consideration that this poor French-Canadian priest had been a "tower of strength" [40] to the cause in the days of trial did not weigh for a farthing. His request for an orchard or a garden was turned down. He could not turn back to the land of his youth, Canada, for he had incurred the displeasure of ecclesiastical authority by opposing the interest of the British—and the country to whose boundaries he had materially contributed so much, turned a deaf ear to him when he was old and hungry. It remained for the Spaniards, who had incurred no obligation towards him other than that of charity, "to give him a cup of water". He died at New Madrid, across the Mississippi, in Spanish territory, early in 1804.[41]

To-day the memory of Father Gibault is not even pre-

[39] English, *op. cit.*, *p.* 287.
[40] English, *op. cit.*, p. 191.
[41] English, *op. cit.*, p. 189.

served. "No county, town, no head-stone even marks his grave, as its location is entirely unknown".[42] But as it is the purpose of this work to record for the Church the name of every priest of any military or naval pretensions, the name of Father Gibault stands out as its greatest chaplain.

## The French Chaplains in the Revolution

There were more than a hundred Catholic priests acting as chaplains in the service of the French Army and Navy, participating in the American Revolution. Little or nothing is known of their activities, save the name of the ship to which they were appointed. At the funeral of Admiral De Fernay there were twelve Catholic chaplains gathered at Newport, Rhode Island, to attend the obsequies.[43] The Abbe Robin is known to have said Mass at Hartford and Woodbury in Connecticut; and at Baltimore in Maryland.[44] Certain Indians, having come to the French hospital near Providence to hear Mass and to enlist the services of a Catholic priest, Chaplain de la Mootte, of the Navy, was sent to their village at the Falls of St. Louis near Albany, New York.[45] What effect the sight of Catholic priests and Catholic religious exercises had upon the non-Catholic Colonists may be gathered from the writings of a contemporary, Solomon Southwick:

> The Catholic King of France took part with the Protestant rebel, and his Catholic subjects at home were taught to reverence our cause. We found that Roman Catholics were not monsters, for these very Frenchmen who came to fight our battles were Roman Catholics. The soldiers of the Catholic king, and those of the rebellious Protestant provinces, went hand in hand together in worshipping their

[42] *Ibid.*, p. 190.
[43] *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society*, 1911, p. 67.
[44] *Ibid.*
[45] *Ibid.*

> common Creator. I saw the whole French army under Rochambeau go to a grand Mass in a body; and never did I behold a more sublime spectacle. There is indeed one fact that deserves to be recorded to the eternal honor of that Catholic army. It marched through the United States, it camped in almost every State, and yet those monstrous Catholics were never known to commit a solitary depredation on the person or property of our citizens, either male or female; they robbed no farmlands, they trod no cornfields; they trespassed upon no orchards or gardens, but everywhere they marched was a track of morality, and their banner the emblem of that justice for which they fought in the field and which they practiced in camp.[46]

From 1778 to 1781 there were French Army and Navy chaplains in the United States. After the war, all returned to France, save the Carmelite, Father Paul de St. Pierre, who died in the Illinois country; Father Rossiter who labored in Philadelphia, and the Franciscan, Father Charles Whalen, who terminated his career in New York.

ARMY CHAPLAINS

Abbé Robin, chaplain-in-chief [47]
Abbé Bertholet [48]
Abbé Glesnon [49]
Abbé Lacy [50]
Abbé Raynal [51]
Abbé Rignatz (?)[52]
Abbé John Rossiter [53]

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[46] *Truth*, Dec. 1927, pp. 17-18.

[47] *Researches and Records of the American Catholic Historical Society*, 1901, p. 66.

[48] *Ibid.*, 1911, p. 67.

[49] *Ibid.*, 1901, p. 66.

[50] *Ibid.*, 1901, p. 66.

[51] *Ibid.*, 1911, pp. 67-68.

[52] *Ibid*, 1909, p. 347.

[53] *Ibid.*, 1911, p. 67.

Abbé Colin de Sepvigny [54]
Father Paul de St. Pierre, Carmelite [55]
Father Charles Whelan, Franciscan [56]
Father (?), Capuchin [57]

### Navy Chaplains

In the Squadron of Count D'Estaing:

*Le Languedoc,* 1778-1779
Chaplain Seraphin Bandol (Recollect)
Chaplain Marazel [58]

*Le Zélé,* March 1778 to December 1779
Chaplain Stanislaus Roux (Recollect)
Chaplain Daumas Bernardy [59]

*Le Fantasque,* 1778 to 1779
Chaplain Urbain Ardouvin (Recollect) [60]

*Le Magnifique,* 1782
Chaplain Casimir (Capuchin)
Chaplain Durandeau
Chaplain Bourdy (Recollect) [61]

*Le Tonnant,* 1778 to 1780
Chaplain Wenceslaus Signoret (Recollect) [62]

*Le Protecteur,* March 1778
Chaplain Policarpe Rochansson (Recollect) [63]

*Le Fier,* June 1778 to July 1780
Chaplain Aime
Chaplain Alexis De Brassac [64]

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[54] *Ibid.*, 1911, p. 67.
[55] *Ibid.*, 1911, pp. 67-68.
[56] *Ibid.*, 1911, pp. 67-68.
[57] *Ibid.*, 1901, p. 66.
[58] *Les Combattants Français De La Guerre Americaine 1778-1783*, translated by order of Congress, 1903, p. 22.
[59] *Ibid.*, p. 28.
[60] *Ibid.*, p. 31.
[61] *Ibid.*, p. 34.
[62] *Ibid.*, p. 38.
[63] *Ibid.*, p. 42.
[64] *Ibid.*, p. 45.

*La Provence,* March 1778 to December 1779
Chaplain Gabriel De Lorme [65]

*L'Artésien,* 1778 to 1781
Chaplain Jean-Francois Darguene
Chaplain Eloi Bernard (Recollect)
Chaplain Warnier (died at Guadeloupe Hispital on May 4, 1780)
Chaplain Grassieus (Recollect)[66]

*Le Guerrier,* April 1778
Chaplain Giraud [67]

*L'Amphion,* February 1779 to March 1781
Chaplain Bernardin Fortin (Religious)
Chaplain Grandmoughin (Cordelier)[68]

*Le Marseillais,* 1778 to 1779
Chaplain Siméon Morel (Recollect)[69]

*Le César* ou *Cézar,* 1778 to end of year 1779
Chaplain Bonice (Recollect)[70]

*Le Vengeur,* 1778 to 1781
Chaplain Victor Pichet
Chaplain Perrot (Cordelier)[71]

*L'Annibal,* 1779 to 1781
Chaplain Quernel (Cordelier)
Chaplain Maccabe [72]

*La Prudente,* May 1778 to June 1779 (captured by English)
Chaplain Andre Corsin-Dupont [73]

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[65] *Ibid.,* p. 48.
[66] *Ibid.,* p. 51.
[67] *Ibid.,* p. 55.
[68] *Ibid.,* p. 58.
[69] *Ibid.,* p. 61.
[70] *Ibid.,* p. 65.
[71] *Ibid.,* p. 69.
[72] *Ibid.,* p. 75.
[73] *Ibid.,* p. 83.

*La Concorde,* January 1778 to March 1779
Chaplain Gareil Montillet [74]

*La Chimière,* March 1778 to March 1780
Chaplain Velérian Durand
Chaplain La Roche [75]

*L'Alcmène,* 1778 to 1779
Chaplain Jean-Francois Quentin
Chaplain Elzeard Bonnaud (Recollect)[76]

*L'Etourdie,* 1778 to 1779
Chaplain Felix (Recollect)[77]

*L'Aimable,* 1778 to 1779
Chaplain Damaze (Recollect)[78]

*L'Andromaque,* April 15, 1778 to July 11, 1779
Chaplain Roger Morrison [79]

*La Blanche,* 1778 to 1779
Chaplain De Saint-Xavier (Carmelite)[80]

*Le Fendant,* 1778 to 1781
Chaplain Nicolas (Capuchin, died on board, Feb. 2, 1780)
Chaplain L'Abbé Boucher (from Feb. 2, 1780)[81]

In the Squadron of Count De Grasse:

*La Ville-De-Paris,* 1781 to 1782
Chaplain Firmin (Capuchin from Amiens)
Chaplain Benigne (Carmelite)[82]

*L'Aigrette,* Armée en Amerique, Sept. 12, 1781 to March 31, 1782.
Chaplain Morin (Capuchin)[83]

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[74] *Ibid.,* p. 85.
[75] *Ibid.,* p. 87.
[76] *Ibid.,* p. 89.
[77] *Ibid.,* p. 91.
[78] *Ibid.,* p. 92.
[79] *Ibid.,* p. 94.
[80] *Ibid.,* p. 96.
[81] *Ibid.,* p. 99.
[82] *Ibid.,* p. 109.
[83] *Ibid.,* p. 116.

*Le Diadème,* February 1779 to January 1781
Chaplain Remy (Capuchin, died Aug. 25, 1779)
Chaplain Picard Durando (Carmelite)
Chaplain Augustin Aumon [84]

*L'Engageante,* January 1781 to January 1782
Chaplain Eyssierre [85]

*La Concorde,* January 1781 to May 1782
Chaplain Célestin Bureau [86]

*Le Magnanime,* March 1781 to September 1782
Chaplain Stanislaus [87]

*L'Ivelly*
Chaplain Bartholome O'Mahony [88]

*Le Northumberland*
Chaplain Baratciard [89]

*Le Scipion,* March 1781 to October 1781
Chaplain L'Abbé Roux [90]

*Le Sceptre,* January 1781 to April 1783
Chaplain Cloupet (Tibure) [91]

*La Couronne et Le Pluton,* Oct. 1781 to June 1783
Chaplain Macabe
Chaplain Boucher [92]

*La Bourgogne,* 1781 to 1783
Chaplain Onesime (Capuchin, died Feb. 4, 1783) [93]

*Le Gloreux,* 1781 to 1782
Chaplain Zephirin (Capuchin) [94]

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[84] *Ibid.*, p. 118.
[85] *Ibid.*, p. 123.
[86] *Ibid.*, p. 125.
[87] *Ibid.*, p. 127.
[88] *Ibid.*, p. 131.
[89] *Ibid.*, p. 133.
[90] *Ibid.*, p. 138.
[91] *Ibid.*, p. 142.
[92] *Ibid.*, p. 147.
[93] *Ibid.*, p. 152.
[94] *Ibid.*, p. 156.

*Le Caton,* 1779 to end of 1782
Chaplain Le Sr. Renedy[95]

*L'Auguste,* 1781 to 1783
Chaplain Dorothe (Capuchin)
Chaplain Morel (Premontre)
Chaplain Charles J. Prospere (Chanoine secular de Roubaix)[96]

*L'Hector,* 1781 to 1782
Chaplain Bernardin De Villars (Capuchin)
Chaplain Potterie (Seculier)
Chaplain Morney (Seculier)[97]

*Le Sagittaire,* January 1781 to September 1782
Chaplain Damase Bernardy (Recollect)
Chaplain Frederick (Capuchin, de Bourges)
Chaplain Barnabe (Capuchin, died July 9, 1781)[98]

*Le Saint-Esprit,* 1781 to 1782
Chaplain Bertiminieux
Chaplain Morel (Prémontreé)
Chaplain Bonice Thomas (Recollect)[99]

*L'Amazone,* Jan. 1781 to July 1782 (taken by British; recaptured)
Chaplain John Machunq[100]

*L'Experiment,* April 1780 to August 1783
Chaplain Bonice Tancas[101]

In the Squadrons of Counts De Guichen and De Grasse:

*L'Indien Devenu Le Réfléchy,* le 10 Aout 1780; Aug. 1782

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[95] *Ibid.*, p. 160.
[96] *Ibid.*, p. 164.
[97] *Ibid.*, p. 170.
[98] *Ibid.*, p. 174.
[99] *Ibid.*, p. 179.
[100] *Ibid.*, p. 184.
[101] *Ibid.*, p. 186.

Chaplain Dieudonne (Capuchin)
Chaplain Dupont (Capuchin)
Chaplain Sebastian De Rosey (Capuchin)
Chaplain Panous (Capuchin)[102]

*Le Marseillais,* 1781 to 1782
Chaplain Damas (Recollect)[103]

*Le Citoyen,* 1781 to 1783
Chaplain Dieudonne (Capuchin)
Chaplain Damas (Capuchin)[104]

*L'Actionnaire,* 1779 to 1781
Chaplain Jean-Francois De Villefranche[105]

*Le Souverain,* Sept. 1779 to Jan. 1781
Chaplain Le Sr. Moullet[106]

*Le Vaillant,* 1781 to 1782
Chaplain Marc (Capuchin)[107]

*L'Hercule,* March 1781 to June 1783
Chaplain Severin Calvert
Chaplain René Potier[108]

Squadron of Count De Ternay (Armée De Rochambeau):

*Le Duc De Bourgogne,* 1780 to 1783
Chaplain Queruesle
Chaplain Abbé Meurnay[109]

*Le Jason,* May 1779 to Jan. 1781
Chaplain Didier
Chaplain Jerome Audibert[110]

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[102] *Ibid.*, p. 191.
[103] *Ibid.*, p. 195.
[104] *Ibid.*, p. 199.
[105] *Ibid.*, p. 204.
[106] *Ibid.*, p. 212.
[107] *Ibid.*, p. 209.
[108] *Ibid.*, p. 215.
[109] *Ibid.*, p. 221.
[110] *Ibid.*, p. 226.

*Le Jason,* 1780 to 1782 (captured by English after defeat of Count De Grasse April 19, 1782, and its crew conducted to Jamaica).
Chaplain Abbé Dowd (Irlandais)
Chaplain Frederick (Capuchin, do Bourges)
Chaplain Maurice (Capuchin)[111]

*Le Provence,* 1780 to 1782
Chaplain Le Roy (Recollect)[112]

*L'Eveillé,* March 1780 to September 1782
Chaplain Roger Morrisson [113]

*Le Conquerant,* January 1780 to August 1782
Chaplain Abbé Routel [114]

*L'Ardent,* April 1780 to April 1782
Chaplain Germain
Chaplain Athanase Surigneau [115]

*Le Neptune,* February 1780 to June 1783
Chaplain Queruche
Chaplain Jean Wanton (pretre Americain)
Chaplain Hobdai (pretre Americain)
Chaplain Abbe Potterie (prêtre seculier)[116]

## The Early Nineteenth Century

It cannot be definitely established that there were any Catholic chaplains in the Regular Army of the United States during the War of 1812. There seems, as a matter of fact, to be ample justification for assuming the contrary. Yet a condition so shocking on the face of it is susceptible of abundant extenuation that leaves no shade of stigma on the American priesthood of that time.

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[111] *Ibid.*, p. 230.
[112] *Ibid.*, p. 233.
[113] *Ibid.*, p. 236.
[114] *Ibid.*, p. 239.
[115] *Ibid.*, p. 243.
[116] *Ibid.*, p. 246. This list of French Chaplains appears in the *American Catholic Historical Researches*, 1911, p. 250, but is utterly unreliable in so far as the names of ship's surgeons have been erroneously set down as chaplains.

The influx of foreign born persons that followed the establishment of our government under the Constitution is evidenced by the passage during John Adams' administration of the Alien Act, obviously prompted by unaccustomed conditions. Among the newcomers were many Catholics, especially from Ireland, Germany, and France. They swelled the Catholic population until, in 1808, the see of Baltimore was divided into five sees, with episcopal residences at Baltimore, New York, Philadelphia, Boston, and Bardstown. The Church was reorganized on a far more efficient basis than that existing at the time of the Revolution. Nevertheless, the United States remained a missionary country.

The number of priests had increased, but not at all in proportion to the total number of Catholics. Dioceses were far-flung, parishes were scattered over areas comparable with the Wyoming missions of to-day. There were no Catholic "blocs"; the priest found his parishioners in segregation among the by-ways. The priests were taxed to the utmost in their ministerial exertions, for despite their increase they were far from adequate in number. None of them could, therefore, be spared for army chaplaincies.

Furthermore, the War of 1812 was, in most part, a naval one. Land skirmishes were not frequent nor extensive, nor of critical character until the battle of New Orleans impended. Sailors, rather than soldiers, were called for in this conflict.

It cannot be reasonably argued from the reticence of diocesan archives that there were no Catholic priests serving as chaplains with our military units during this war. These records were not kept at that time after a manner to satisfy modern requirements. Still, if there were Catholic regimental chaplains during the War of 1812, the records are buried in obscurity, perhaps never to see the light of day.

Notwithstanding the foregoing, we may assert with the utmost probability that Catholic priests did *administer*

*the duties* of chaplains during the battle of New Orleans. The reason for this certainty rests upon the fact that there are records of Catholic nuns, time-honored angels of mercy, having appeared on the field at that battle.[117] From this we gather that priests were caring for the soldiers at New Orleans, since the nuns generally follow the priests to war. If the nuns were on the field of battle, then the priests must likewise have been there. Yet we cannot stop to rejoice over that which we cannot prove but only surmise. The fact remains that the War of 1812 is the only one in which our history sheds no light on the name of a Catholic chaplain.

After the close of that war and until the outbreak of hostilities in Mexico, there were intermittent disturbances and massacres perpetrated by our Indian population in the West and the South, which necessitated the movement of troops to subdue the savages. That Catholic priests should have appeared on the scene on such occasions is not in the least to be doubted when it is remembered that the missionary to the Indians was the proverbial "black robe", as persistent as history. Although it is universally understood that the lamentable illiteracy of the Indian explains their inability to chronicle events as they transpired, it is, indeed, regrettable that the officers in command of American troops failed to give the missionary his due, especially when a Catholic priest was instrumental in staving off war or the renewal of hostilities between the United States and its Indian tribes. Such glaring omissions are noted in the records of the War Department even as late as our own times;[118] one can search the records of the Secretary of War, or of the Adjutant General, but can find no mention of the name of Father Aloysius Hermanutz, O. S. B., whose sheer diplomacy and fine tact won the confidence of both Indians and Officers of the United States Army to the

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[117] Jolly, *Nuns of the Battlefield*, pp. 320-321 (Providence, R. I., 1927).

[118] *Letter-Book of the Secretary of War*, 1899, *Report of the Major-General Commanding the Army*, Part I, pp. 23-25.

extent of preventing a renewal of Indian hostilities at Leach Lake, Minnesota, in 1898.[119]

Occasionally records do accidentally come to light that give evidence to the service of chaplain discharged by Catholic priests. Such a record was found among some old documents in the archives of the Adjutant General's Office, Old Records Division. The document treats of the funeral of Major Dade and his follow officers and soldiers "who fell under peculiar circumstances of gallantry and conduct", and contains General Order no. 25, which outlines the ritual for the funeral procession at St. Augustine, Florida, July 25, 1842.[120] It assigns to the clergy a place immediately preceding the platoon of the Guard of Honor, and remarks at the close of the document that "the remains having been removed from the waggons, amid the firing of field guns, the Reverend Mr. Waters of the Catholic Church addressed the assembled multitude with great eloquence and beauty".[121] Since it is not the purpose of this chapter to comment upon the services rendered by priests who were not acting in the capacity of official chaplains of the United States Army, we must pay brief tribute to them and pass on. For our interest, there is satisfaction in the knowledge revealed by the records that Catholic priests rendered chaplain service to the troops of the government whenever occasion arose that the exigencies of war brought the scene of battle close to their doors.

## From Fort Polk to Fort Sumter

The outbreak of the War with Mexico happened during one of the periodic "religious situations" which have been recurrent in the United States history. As every

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[119] *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, Oct. 13, 16, 18, 21, 22, 1898, Jan. 8, 1899; *Chicago Chronicle*, Oct. 15, 1898; *Catholic Standard and Times*, Philadelphia, Oct. 22, 1898; *Catholic Citizen*, Milwaukee, Oct. 22, 1898; *Catholic Columbian*, Columbus, Ohio, Oct. 29, 1898.

[120] Records of Officers and Soldiers Killed in Battle and Died in Service During the Florida War, etc., p. 3.

[121] *Ibid.*, p. 7.

student knows, these American "religious situations" are never to be interpreted as revivals of fervor, but invariably as outbursts of anti-Catholic feeling. The Mexican war came in the course of the most violent of these waves of bigotry—that which saw the rise of the Native American and Know Nothing parties. Their excesses have been repeatedly recorded, but it is not generally realized that they influenced to a significant extent the conduct of the Mexican War.

The "religious situation" extended, in fact, to the American Armies engaged in the subjugation of Mexico. There was, in the United States ranks, a goodly number of Catholic soldiers. To these, as in fact to those of every persuasion, Mexican propaganda succeeded in penetrating. Naturally, in view of the violent words and deeds of the Know Nothings, this propaganda was in some part religious, however insincere the regard of the Mexican government for religion may have been at bottom.

In a letter to the American Adjutant General in justification of his orders to shoot deserters, General Zachary Taylor refers to a letter by General Ampudia, and encloses another by General M. Arista, addressed to the American soldiers with the design of securing desertions.[122] In the latter missive the United States is represented as engaged in an unjust, unholy war, denounced by a majority of the American people. He offers 320 acres of land to privates, and lands according to rank to officers who will abandon their "desperate and unholy cause".[123] There is also reason to believe that the activities of the Know Nothings were used, among the American soldiers as well as among the Mexican people, to substantiate the denunciation of the United States as anti-clerical and anti-Catholic. Proclamations by General Scott and President Polk, repudiating such aspersions,

[122] *Historical Records and Studies, United States Catholic Historical Society*, 1918, XII, p. 45.

[123] *Ibid.*, pp. 46-48.

make it apparent that the aspersions were made.[124] We infer that the American Catholic soldiers were reached by the same propaganda from the uneasiness that President Polk seems to have developed as to assuring their continued loyalty.[125] Conditions in the American Army at that time were not calculated to conciliate the Catholic soldier. Pursuant to the Act of Congress then in force, military chaplains were appointed by the Brigadier-Generals, with the consent of their staffs and subject to the approval of the War Department.[126] The number of Catholic Army officers was negligible; hence, there were no Catholic chaplains. As a matter of fact, chaplains were not always men of the clerical profession. Occasionally, a superannuated sergeant, and sometimes even a retired cook, would be appointed to undertake the religious ministrations of a regiment.[127]

As the Catholic population of the country increased, so did that of the Army. For the Catholic soldiers to be without chaplains of their own faith was hardship, but it does not seem to have earned them any sympathy among their officers. In 1846 it became known to the War Department, and indeed to the general public, that the Catholic troops down in Mexico were in mutiny.[128] This situation was caused by an order of the commanding officers, compelling all soldiers to attend religious services. Only Protestant services were being held within the Army lines.

All things considered, it need not nettle the righteous to read that the Catholic soldier was somewhat in something of a quandary concerning his position in the great

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[124] *Ibid.*, pp. 56-58.

[125] *Ibid.*, pp. 62-63.

[126] Provisions for Chaplains in Acts of 1791, 1812, and 1838; latter provided one to each brigade in Army, and number not to exceed 30; in Navy, number limited to 24; *cf.* Johnson, *Chaplains of the General Government*, p. 9.

[127] To state a definite case, the reader is requested to consult record of Louis Shreiner of 27th Pennsylvania Infantry during Civil War, in Adjutant General's Office, Old Records Division.

[128] *Historical Records and Studies, loc. cit.*, p. 59.

scheme of American liberty. He had witnessed acts of intolerable aggression against his holy places in the United States; he was engaged in a war against an ostensibly Catholic government—a war of aggression, and, according to Mexican advices, an "unholy" one. Now his liberty of conscience was infringed upon. It behooved the government to remove misgivings without delay.

This President Polk recognized. There had been desertions, in response to the overtures of Ampudia and Arista, and while the defections did not occur along sectarian lines the President thought it well to appease the Catholics.[129] He considered the order compelling Catholic attendance at Protestant worship a serious blunder, and saw the necessity of preventing its repetition.

The President had no legal authority at that time to appoint chaplains, nor could he, even in view of his prestige, compel the regimental officers to appoint Catholic chaplains. Instead, he decided upon a war measure—the appointment of certain chaplains by the President, to be assigned to the Army and not to specific regiments. This was done in the exercise of his discretionary powers.

President Polk happened to know that the Sixth Provincial Council was at that time in session in Baltimore. He accordingly invited Bishop Hughes of New York, Bishop Kenrick of St. Louis, and Bishop Portier of Mobile, to the White House on May 20, 1846, where a conference was held in respect to the appointment of Catholic priests as Army chaplains.[130] The Bishops

[129] Out of 3500 foreigners by birth, General Scott says 2000 were Irish. The so-called "large number of Irish deserters" is not so large when it is discovered that only "seventy or eighty" foreigners were deserters, and of this number 45 were Irish, or 2% of the total enlistments. *Cf.*, *Journal of the American Irish Historical Society*, XXVI, 1927, pp. 255-259; Hubert Howe Bancroft, *North Mexican States and Texas*, I (San Francisco, 1883-1889).

[130] Letter-Book of Secretary of War, Years 1845-1846, no. 26, pp. 260-261, reads: "War Department, May 29, 1846. Bishop Kenrick of St. Louis. Sir: Pursuant to suggestions made to you when I had the pleasure of an interview here several days ago, I have written to

thereupon consulted Father Verhaegen, Visitor of the Society of Jesus, and obtained his approval for the appointment of two of his subordinates. They were Father John McElroy, S. J., pastor of Holy Trinity Church, Washington, and Father Anthony Rey, S. J., professor of philosophy at Georgetown College.

The appointment of the two Jesuits was approved and confirmed by President Polk, and they set out from Georgetown, D. C., on June 2, 1846, arriving at Fort Polk July 2.[131] There the two fathers attended fifteen wounded Catholic soldiers in the hospital, and thereupon proceeded to Matamoras, and on July 6th reported to General Taylor.[132] They presented the following letter from W. L. Marcy, the Secretary of War:[133]

> War Department, Washington, May 29, 1846.
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> Sir: The President has been informed that much pains have been taken to alarm the religious prejudices of the Mexicans against the United States. He

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Colonel Kearney on the subject of having a person who should be recommended by yourself or either of the other reverend gentlemen named, attached to his expedition to New Mexico. The President made known to you in person his wishes on this subject and was very desirous to secure your good offices to carry them out. I herewith send you a copy of my communication to Colonel Kearney and presume further explanations (after what has passed between us) is unnecessary. I sincerely hope that you will meet with no difficulty in finding a gentleman with proper qualifications willing to serve his country in the way proposed. The only embarrassment which I feel is as to the advances in money which he may need to take him to Colonel Kearney's command. This I hope can be managed. Instructions will be given for making the requisite payments to him when he shall have joined the troops sent on the expedition.

"You will allow me to make a single suggestion. Considering the peculiar character of a part of the service expected to be performed by the person you may select, I think it would be proper that care should be taken to prevent the measure from being extensively known. This is submitted to your discretion and that of the gentleman whom you may employ. W. S. MARCY". *Cf., Historical Records and Researches, loc. cit.*, p. 59.

[131] Letter-Book, *loc. cit.*, p. 248.

[132] *Historical Records and Studies, loc. cit.*, p. 64.

[133] *Ibid.*, pp. 61-62.

deems it important that their misapprehensions in this respect should be corrected as far as it can be done, and for that purpose has invited the Reverend gentlemen who will hand you this communication, Mr. McElroy and Mr. Rey of the Roman Catholic Church to attend to the army under your command and to officiate as chaplains. Although the President cannot appoint them as chaplains yet it is his wish that they be received in that character by you and your officers, be respected as such and be treated with kindness and courtesy, that they should be permitted to have intercourse with the soldiers of the Catholic faith, to administer to their religious instruction, to perform divine service for such as may wish to attend whenever it can be done without interfering with their military duties, and to have free access to the sick or wounded in hospitals or elsewhere.

It is confidently believed that these gentlemen in their clerical capacity will be useful in removing the false impressions of the Mexicans in relation to the United States, and in inducing them to confide in the assurance you have already given that their religious institutions will be respected, the property of the Church protected, their worship undisturbed, and in fine all their religious rights will be in the amplest manner preserved to them. In fulfilling those objects you are desired to give these gentlemen such facilities as you may be enabled to afford, and at such times as in your judgment may be most prudent.

You are requested also to cause to be provided for them such accommodations as will render their abiding with the Army comfortable to themselves. It is believed that when chaplains were allowed by law to the Army they received in pay and emoluments from $1,000 to $1,200 per annum. This amount will be paid to the gentlemen named in this letter.

> As these gentlemen do not speak Spanish they have been desired by the President to associate with them another clergyman who both understands and speaks it; such person recommended by them you will receive on the same footing as themselves.

As these priests were not officially chaplains, we are unable fully to pursue their activities through official records. Hence the subsequent military career of Father McElroy is not recorded in detail. We know only that he served with General Taylor throughout the war.[134]

Father Rey served with gallantry in the battle of Monterey. Later, venturing alone into the country against the advice of the military officers, he was murdered by Mexican guerrillas.[135]

## Post-Bellum Chaplains

Shortly after the Mexican War Catholic chaplains were regularly appointed to the Regular Army of the United States.[136] The first officially appointed Catholic chaplain of the United States Army since the Revolutionary War was the Rev. Samuel H. Milley. He served as post chaplain at Monterey, California, from September 28, 1849 to February, 1850.[137]

Father Ignacio Ramirez succeeded Father Milley in this post, acting from 1850 until June 30, 1852.[138]

The next Regular Army chaplain of the Catholic faith officially appointed was Father Michael Sheehan. He

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[134] *Ibid.*, p. 65.

[135] *Ibid.*, p. 65; *Catholic Encyclopedia*, XIII, p. 17.

[136] In the 33d Congress, 1st Session, March 27, 1853, the House of Representatives endeavored to abolish chaplains; Johnson, *Chaplains of the General Government*, p. 9.

[137] Francis Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the U. S. Army* (Washington, 1914), I, p. 712; Johnson, *op. cit.*, pp. 68-68; *U. S. Army Register*, 1850, 1851.

[138] Heitman, *op. cit.*, I, p. 844; Johnson, *op. cit.*, pp. 68-69; *Catholic Encyclopedia*, XIV, p. 203; *U. S. A. Register*, 1851-1853.

was post chaplain at Fort Belknap, Texas, from April 13, 1855, to February 23, 1859.[139]

A priest who was prominent for his service to the Army during the waning decade of the fifties was the famous Indian missionary, Father Peter John De Smet, S. J. Although the records of the War Department refer to him as "chaplain in the Mormon Expedition" no evidence appears of his official appointment or of his term of service.[140] It is common knowledge that Father De Smet accompanied General Harney in his expedition to Utah against the Mormons in 1858. At the close of this military episode with the Latter Day Saints, the government requested Father De Smet to accompany Harney to Oregon, where an Indian uprising was feared. As he had already done many times previously, and was again destined repeatedly to do, Father De Smet succeeded on this occasion in pacifying the Indians.

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[139] Heitman, *op. cit.*, I, p. 879; Johnson, *op. cit.*, pp. 68-69; *Catholic Directory*, 1856-1860; *U. S. A. Register*, 1856-1860.

[140] U. S. Record and Pension Office, document no. 684733, March 31, 1902; *Catholic Encyclopedia*, IV, pp. 752-753; Joseph Kinzig, *Der grosse Schwarzrock: P. Peter Johannes De Smet. S. J.* (Freiburg, 1922); E. Laveille, *Le P. de Smet, apotre des Peaux-Rouges* (Brussells, 1922); and his personal letters in *U. S. Cath. Hist. Rec.*, V, pt. II, pp. 463-487.

## CHAPTER II

### 1861-1865

### The Policy of the Government and the Church Toward Chaplains

The fall of Fort Sumter threw the North and the South into the grips of war, each side bent on establishing the questions at issue by the triumph of its military forces. By the Act of Congress then in force, the militia troops of each State could be sworn in for active service by the Federal Government for a maximum period of only three months. Some of the State organizations had chaplains, others had made no provisions for them. In such cases of original vacancy, the governor of the State exercised his prerogative of appointment. After three months in the Federal service, however, these chaplains were mustered out with their respective organizations.

Early in August, 1861, Congress, by Acts 22 and 38, empowered President Lincoln to provide for the selection and the appointment of chaplains for each regiment, with the proviso that only a regularly ordained minister of some Christian denomination should be eligible.[1] In virtue of his authority the President gave to every colonel in command of regiments the right to choose a chaplain for whom the majority of the field officers and company officers on duty with the regiment had voted.[2] The candidate chosen in this wise was reported to the War Department; and when the organization was composed of State volunteers, information of the appointment was also directed to the governor. If the candidate

[1] *The War of Rebellion—Official Records of the Union and the Confederate Armies*, Series III, vol. I, p. 398 (Washington, 1901).

[2] *Ibid.*, Series III, vol. I, p. 154.

was acceptable to both, the chaplain received his official appointment from the War Department, and presented himself to an officer of the Regular Army for muster-in.[3] Thereafter the chaplain's name was incorporated into the field and staff roll of the regiment. The personnel engaged in mustering in officers were obliged to demand a copy of the proceeding on which the appointment was based, and, if genuine, and in conformity with all the requirements, the document was endorsed and forwarded to the Adjutant General's Office, to be filed in the rolls of muster.[4]

The position that chaplains held with respect to rank was a subject of controversy in those early days; it would die down, only to flare up with renewed vigor. On May 4, 1861, the War Department enacted that a chaplain was to receive the same pay and allowances as a captain of cavalry.[5] General Orders 158 speak more definitely on the subject: "Chaplains shall be borne on the Staff rolls immediately after surgeons, and shall be entitled to full pay when on leave, even if prisoner".[6] This order must have fallen into desuetude as far as Assistant Adjutant General Townsend was concerned, for he wrote to the Secretary of War, October 31, 1864, expressing doubt regarding the rank enjoyed by chaplains and suggesting the same grade as captain—their names appearing on rolls after surgeons.[7] Lincoln himself must have become confused, for we find the Secretary of War, Stanton, reminding him on March 1, 1865, that chaplains' rank is and has been the same as that of captains in the Regular Army.[8] Their salary, therefore, was one hundred ($100.00) dollars per month and two rations per day when on duty. More readily to understand the controversy over rank, it will repay the reader

[3] *Ibid.*, Series III, vol. I, p. 327.
[4] *Ibid.*, Series III, vol. II, pp. 518-519.
[5] *Ibid.*, Series III, vol. I, pp. 154, 157.
[6] *Ibid.*, Series III, vol. IV, pp. 227-228.
[7] *Ibid.*, Series III, vol. IV, p. 809.
[8] *Ibid.*, Series III, vol. IV, p. 1207.

to glance over a regimental roster roll of officers, which definitely demonstrates the sequence of rank.

Regiment of Infantry—10 Companies
- 1 Colonel
- 1 Lieut. Colonel
- 1 Major
- 1 Adjutant (an extra Lieut.)
- 1 Quartermaster (an extra Lieut.)
- 1 Surgeon
- 2 Ass't. Surgeons
- 1 Chaplain
- 1 Sergeant-Major
- 1 Regimental Quartermaster-Sergeant
- 1 Regimental Commissary-Sergeant
- 1 Hospital Steward

Company of Infantry
- 1 Captain
- 1 First Lieutenant
- 1 Second Lieutenant
- 1 First Sergeant
- 4 Sergeants
- 8 Corporals
- 2 Musicians
- 1 Wagoner
- 64 to 82 Privates [9]

Sometimes a chaplain was assigned to a brigade, which involved the spiritual welfare of five regiments. This contingency arose only in the early months of the conflict, when the government found itself unprepared and the War Department was engrossed with the problems of its tremendous organization.[10]

When at length a chaplain had been properly enrolled and mustered into service, the regular routine of his

[9] *Ibid.*, Series III, vol. II, pp. 518-519.

[10] Adjutant General's Office, State of New Jersey, Files of the N. J. Militia Brigade, Chaplain Doane.

Army life began. Besides the duties that the Church imposed on every priest having the *cura animarum,* the government insisted on chaplains conducting public religious service for any deceased member of his regiment.[11] At the end of each quarter, he was required to make a report to the colonel commanding the regiment on the moral and religious status of the regiment, and to offer suggestions conducive to greater social happiness and moral improvement of the troops.[12]

That a chaplain had been duly enrolled and properly mustered in was not a sufficient guarantee that everything was to proceed on the even tenor of its way. In the second greatest war of all history, as the Civil War was reputed to be, plans and campaigns covering vast fields of operations sometimes miscarried. It is no wonder, then, that the *minutiae* and minor details of regimental personnel should escape tabulation; and if recorded, should happen to disappear before reaching a terminus where papers of that nature were kept on file. It can be understood, then, that cases arose where one chaplain was assigned at the same time to two incompatible positions in the service.[13] Furthermore, it can be understood that chaplains sometimes noticed a remissness in the arrival of their pay-checks and some were not fully recompensed until long after the War.

One very pathetic feature in connection with the appointment of chaplains was the practice, happily not of frequent occurrence on the part of the colonel conspiring with other officers under his command, of elevating a mere private or inferior officer to the position of regimental chaplain, whether the one selected had been cook or wagoner. This practice embraced the tenor of a complaint made by the Paymaster General to the Hon. Henry Wilson in a letter dated December 5, 1861. Remedial measures were soon enacted by Congress,

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[11] *Official Records, op. cit.,* Series III, vol. IV, p. 227.

[12] *Ibid.,* Series III, vol. I, p. 382.

[13] *Cf.* case of Chaplain Lemagie, *post.*

stipulating that every nominee elected to the chaplaincy had to present recommendations from proper ecclesiastical authorities.[14] This explains the presence, among the papers on file, of the sworn statements of several priests that the candidate is a duly authorized priest in good standing.

In case of capture, chaplains were, in the first stages of the War, immediately released and set at liberty, while their captured comrades were confined as prisoners of war.[15] Late in the summer of 1863, however, considerable bickerings regarding unfair play developed on both sides, and, as a consequence, chaplains were confined as prisoners on the same terms as their comrades.[16] By the spring of the following year, both combatants had undergone a change of heart, and negotiations were opened which resulted in the treatment of chaplains according to the rules recognized as traditional.[17]

The most cumbersome burden imposed upon Catholic chaplains was the duty of applying to proper ecclesiastical authority for permission to exercise their faculties. As soon as a chaplain left the confines of his own diocese, he had to face the exigency of communicating with the ordinary of the place as soon as possible.[18] This condition was the prevailing one until the spring of 1862. Generous-hearted Archbishop Kenrick, of Baltimore, despatched all his faculties to Archbishop Hughes, April 26, 1861, to be communicated to those chaplains who, he had heard, were coming down with the troops into his archdiocese.[19]

On February 15, 1862, the Prefect of the Sacred Congregation *de Propaganda Fide,* Cardinal Barnabo, com-

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[14] *Official Records*, Series III, vol. I, p. 728.

[15] *Ibid.*, Series II, vol. IV, p. 288.

[16] *Ibid.*, Series II, vol. VI, pp. 157-158.

[17] *Ibid.*, Series II, vol. VII, pp. 106, 108.

[18] Shea, *History of the Catholic Church in the United States*, 1843-1866, p. 387 (New York, 1886-1892).

[19] *Catholic Historical Review*, IV, no. 3, p. 386.

municated to Archbishop Purcell of Cincinnati the following list of faculties to be transmitted to army chaplains:[20]

> 1. Army chaplains who of course ought to be approved by the Ordinary of the place in which they are stopping as fit to hear confessions of soldiers within the limits of his diocese, will hold from the same Ordinary the faculties granted by our Holy Father stated in the enclosed letter to enable them to minister to those who have a sincere detestation of their sins and wish to make sacramental confession of them. 2. These same chaplains, should they enter the diocese of another Ordinary and, as it may happen, remain there as long as the Army is marching through, will perform their sacred ministry and enjoy these same faculties according to the Apostolic indult, and further they have this privilege for two months, if previously they can not easily go to the Ordinary of the place in which they are at that time. 3. However, during this period of two months they ought to present themselves to the Ordinary of the place in order to have his approbation in hearing sacramental confessions and in using those same faculties which have been granted by the Apostolic See. 4. Moreover the Ordinary of the place on his part will enable the aforesaid chaplains to continue their ministry by prolonging for them all and individual faculties according to the enclosed form, no. 11, unless he should judge them unworthy. In this case he will take care of the spiritual good of the soldiers through the ministry of others to whom he will give these same Apostolic faculties. 5. But if the period of two months is not sufficient for the chaplains to go to the Ordinary, the chaplains will have the power to go on performing the functions of their ministry as long as the impossibility of going to the Ordinary remains. 6. These decrees, which according to Apostolic authority are to be observed in view of

[20] *Ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 200-201.

> the present state of affairs in the United States of America for the spiritual good of the soldiers, whether of the Northern or Southern army, will have no effect when the calamity of war shall have ceased.

The question that quite naturally piques the curiosity of the layman is the actions that transpired in the case of a priest attached to the peaceful parochial duties suddenly released and transferred to the exercise of military duties as an Army chaplain. The answer is simple enough. The governors of the various States would communicate with the Catholic Bishops within their confines and present the plea for Army chaplains. All the chaplains in the Army found themselves in their military situation for the very reason that their Bishop commissioned them as far as approval and faculties were concerned. Not only was Archbishop Hughes of New York appealed to by the governor of his State, but Bishop Wood of Philadelphia heard the pleas of Governor Curtin, and so on.[21] Relevant to His Grace of New York, Hassard presents a very unique anecdote in publishing a letter of his to Archbishop Kenrick of Baltimore, May 9, 1861:[22]

> The Superior of the Jesuits here called on me more than a week ago, to state that their Society would be prepared to furnish for the spiritual necessities of the Army, North and South, as many as ten chaplains, speaking all the civilized languages of Europe or America. I heard him, but did not make any reply. For myself, I have sent but one chaplain, with the Sixty-ninth regiment, and to him I have already given the faculties which you had the kindness to confer upon me for such an occasion.

The official records redound to the great credit of the Jesuits, for their Order had a large representation in the

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[21] Shea, *op. cit.*, p. 409.

[22] Hassard, *Life of Archbishop Hughes*, p. 441 (New York, 1866).

service, each one of whom contributed to the prestige of his Church and his Society.

### Unofficial Chaplains in the Civil War

It was the practice of a considerable number of priests, throughout the Civil War, to follow the movements of the troops from place to place, and administer the sacraments on the very battlefields, all without any semblance of official appointment as chaplains. Such priests doubtless appreciated the difficulty experienced by official chaplains in obtaining leave of absence or discharge from service, which the wartime exigencies of their military posts sometimes rendered imperative. It is true that the Army discipline in this respect was not despotic, yet the restraints imposed upon the liberties of those who were, first and foremost, priests and professors rather than permanent Army chaplains is evident from letters of the regimental chaplains, cited herein. Accordingly, some of the priests preferred to be unofficial chaplains. Their work cannot be too highly praised, for they served the Catholics who were without official chaplains of their own faith, and would probably, had it not been for the unofficial chaplains, have gone through the four years' war or fallen on the field without proper spiritual consolation.

Father Paul E. Gillen, C. S. C., was one of these "itinerant" chaplains until General Grant peremptorily bade him desist.[23] Father Gillen was thereafter appointed chaplain of the 170th New York Infantry, and his official record is described under the volunteer chaplains.

Less of an "outlaw" chaplain, though also an unofficial one, was Father Bernard M. McQuaid, subsequently Bishop of Rochester, N. Y. Apprehensive concerning the spiritual welfare of the Catholic soldiers, on account of the dearth of Catholic chaplains, he obtained the permission of his Bishop and a pass from Washington to

[23] Corby, *Memoirs of Chaplain Life*, p. 307 (Chicago, 1893).

visit the Federal lines. His mission, however, was to ascertain that there *were* Catholic chaplains attending to the needs of the Catholic soldiers at the Bull Run war zone. That understood, he visited the lines, *once,* and, finding that the troops were receiving satisfactory spiritual attention, returned to his Bishop and so reported.[24]

These two priests are outstanding examples of many who exercised a chaplain's function in either of the two manners described. Yet so hallowed are the memories of some of the *itinerant* and *occasional* chaplains that popular fancy has placed them among the official chaplains of the Army, a category in which they nowise belong.

One who would fairly chronicle the deeds of the Catholic chaplain confronts a discouraging difficulty in the scarcity of information on the subject to be had from Catholic sources: books and periodicals, and the falsity of much of the data these set forth.

A sifting of the most promising authorities brings to the fore the *Catholic Encyclopedia,* the *History of the Catholic Church in the United States* by John Gilmary Shea; the *Catholic Builders of the Nation,* Corby's *Memoirs of Chaplain Life,* and scattered articles in magazines and newspapers. Yet these all—including Catholic historical magazines—so abound in error as to be utterly unreliable for our purpose. For example, in the *Catholic Builders of the Nation,* Father Dunn is stated to have organized the 90th Illinois Volunteer Infantry, and been its chaplain.[25] As a matter of fact, the regiment was organized by Colonel O'Meara, and Father T. F. Kelly was its chaplain, according to the best possible authority—the records of the regiment.

The *Catholic Encyclopedia* mentions but eleven priests

[24] Zwierlein, *Life of Bishop McQuaid,* I, p. 346 (Rochester, N. Y., 1925).

[25] Vol. I, p. 177; *Catholic Encyclopedia,* VIII, p. 140.

as Civil War chaplains, and three of these had no shadow of claim to the title.[26] Father Nicholas O'Brien was indeed *appointed* chaplain of the 28th Massachusetts Infantry, but, as we have ascertained by consulting the Adjutant General of that State, he never joined the regiment.[27] It is difficult to judge what seeming evidence misled the *Encyclopedia* to include Fathers John Scully and Philip Sheridan among the chaplains, unless the former's name was confounded with that of Chaplain Thomas Scully, and the latter's with that of his famous namesake. Rev. Ignatius Egan appears to be an inadvertant substitution for Chaplain C. L. Egan, O.P., of Washington, D. C., who served with a Massachusetts Regiment.[28]

However, a real difficulty presents itself in the case of the Southern chaplains. It may never be known whether Father Abram Ryan, the "poet-priest of the South", was really an official, or merely an unofficial, chaplain. According to the *Confederate Veteran,* he served with the Army of Northern Virginia.[29] His record, like that of many others, was most probably burned at the approach of the Union Army toward Richmond.

Were we to attempt to embody the records of the unofficial chaplains in this work, research would be endless. We should be obliged to confine ourselves to

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[26] Vol. VIII, p. 140.

[27] Adjutant General's Office, State of Massachusetts, Files of the 28th Mass. Infantry.

[28] Error appears in *Catholic Builders*, III, p. 291.

[29] *Confederate Veteran*, February, 1928, p. 44, says: "Some inquiries about Father Ryan's service to the Confederacy have recently come to the Veteran, and while his loyalty to the South is well known, all that can be found as to his service is that he was a chaplain in the Army of Northern Virginia, serving to the end of the war; yet it is also stated by some that he was filling a pastorate in Nashville, Tenn., between September and December, 1862, and that he was placed under arrest in Nashville during that time for seditious utterances." The Bishop of Nashville and, except Father Ryan, all his priests were anti-slavery men.

unofficial sources, it must be remembered, and after tracing all evidential documents still extant, to know that others of equal value had been destroyed, thus guaranteeing the incompleteness of our inquiry. An authoritative work we know to have been destroyed was the history of the services rendered to the government by Catholic chaplains and sisters, under compilation by Father Cooney, C.S.C., when it was burned in the fire which consumed the library of Notre Dame University in 1879.[30] What other relevant papers were burned at the same time, or what others, existing once, were never preserved, there is no means of knowing.

The stories of the unofficial chaplains might be alive with interest, but the above considerations, and especially the consideration that only an official chaplain is a true chaplain, impel us to exclude the "outlaw", "itinerant", or "occasional", chaplains from this work.[31]

## Hospital Chaplains

"Hospital chaplain", in war-time terminology, corresponded with the "post chaplain" of the Regular Army in time of peace. These chaplains were appointed by the President by virtue of the discretionary powers vested in him by the Constitution, powers used for the most part only in times of national emergency. In the Mexican War phase of this study we note President Polk's designation of Catholic chaplains for the Army as an exercise of his discretionary power. The manifest need of hospital chaplains to minister to disabled soldiers prompted Lincoln to resort to the same prerogative. On October

[30] Corby, *op. cit.*, p. 272.

[31] Among those excluded, we may mention Fathers Bourget, C. S. C.; William Cook; Michael Creedin; L. Du Mortier, S. J.; Basil Elia; James (Cardinal) Gibbons; N. H. Gieson; Terreol Girardy, C. SS. R; Arthur Haviland; E. B. Kilroy, C. S. C.; Andrew Michael; Daniel Moore; John T. Nealis, O. P.; Bernard O'Riley, S. J.; M. Heidencamp; Father Hamilton of Andersonville Prison fame; Ghislain Boheme; Felix Carr; M. F. Tracy; Plunkett, and Duggan.

30, 1861, he wrote to Father Boyle, of Washington, D. C., in these words:[32]

> Having been solicited by Christian ministers and other pious people to appoint suitable persons to act as chaplains at the hospitals for our sick and wounded soldiers, and feeling the intrinsic propriety of having such persons to so act, and yet believing there is no law conferring the power upon me to appoint them, I think fit to say that if you will voluntarily enter upon and perform the appropriate duties of such position, I will recommend that Congress make compensation therefor at that same rate as chaplains in the army are compensated.

In this connection, the Catholic mind is disposed to speculate regarding the agency or person that recommended to Lincoln the names of Catholic priests suitable for appointment as hospital chaplains. It is well to heed the question at this juncture, not because it offers ground for controversy, but because gross error has arisen from its answer. Archbishop Hughes was Lincoln's advisor in this instance; but he was not, as a host of Catholic writers have assumed, chaplain-in-chief of all the Catholic chaplains, nor is it true that all appointments of Catholic priests to chaplaincies were referred to the Metropolitan of New York.[33]

In his message to Congress on December 3, 1861, President Lincoln touched on the subject of hospital chaplains as follows:[34]

> By mere omission, I presume, Congress has failed to provide chaplains for hospitals occupied by volunteers. This subject was brought to my notice, and I was induced to draw up the form of a letter one copy of which, properly addressed, has been delivered to each of the persons, and at the dates respec-

[32] *Official Records, op. cit.*, Series III, vol. I, p. 721.
[33] Shea, *op. cit.*, p. 409.
[34] *Official Records, op. cit.*, Series III, vol. I, p. 712.

> tively named and stated, in a schedule containing also the form of the letter, marked A. . . .
>
> These gentlemen, I understand, entered upon the duties designated at the times respectively stated in the schedule and have labored faithfully therein ever since. I therefore recommend that they be compensated at the same rate as chaplains in the Army. I further suggest that general provision be made for chaplains to serve at hospitals, as well as with regiments.

Almost half a year transpired between the time of its suggestion by the President and its embodiment into an act of Congress. Finally approved by Congress on May 20, 1862, this act was reprinted in General Orders, No. 55, Section 2 of which reads:[35]

> And be it further enacted, that the President of the United States is hereby authorized to appoint, if he shall deem it necessary, a chaplain for each permanent hospital, whose pay, with that of chaplains hitherto appointed by him, shall be the same as that of regimental chaplains in the volunteer force; and who shall be subject to such rules in relation to leave of absence from duty as are prescribed for commissioned officers of the Army.

General Orders, No. 78, issued by the War Department on July 14, 1862, relative to these chaplains, declared that the Surgeon-General was to assign them to hospitals in the cities for which they were appointed; that, in the event of a break-up of any hospital, leaving a chaplain supernumerary, the fact was to be disclosed at once to the Adjutant General; that these chaplains were to respect the orders of the hospital surgeons; and that leaves of absence were to be granted by the Surgeon-General whenever approved by the surgeons in charge of their respective hospitals.[36] Pursuant to Act 165, approved by

[35] *Ibid.*, Series III, vol. II, p. 67.
[36] *Ibid.*, Series III, vol. II, p. 222.

Congress on July 17, 1862, the War Department issued General Orders No. 91 on July 29, 1862, in which section 9 stated that hospital chaplains were to be paid one hundred dollars per month and two rations a day when on duty, and confirms the right of the President to appoint them.[37] In the event of inefficiency or inability, they were to be discharged by the commander of posts or districts.

### Records of Hospital Chaplains

Boyle, Rev. Francis E.—Chaplain by Presidential appointment dated June 13, 1862; approved by Secretary of War Stanton; accepted commission sent through Mr. Callan June 16, 1862; age 35 years; residence, District of Columbia. Roman Catholic. Born in Maryland. Full name, Francis E. Boyle. Assignment, Stone Hospital (body of commission reads: "United States Hospital at Washington, D. C.").[38]

Bruehl, Rev. James.—Chaplain by Presidential appointment dated July 28, 1862; approved by Secretary of War Stanton; commission sent through Mr. Walcott, War Department, August 2, 1862; no letter of acceptance on file. Residence, Fordham, New York. Assignment, United States Hospital at Beaufort, North Carolina. Appointment expired by Constitutional limitation March 4, 1863. Re-appointed April 22, 1863, to United States Hospital at New Orleans. Mustered out of service, May 20, 1863.[39]

Egan, Rev. C. L.—Chaplain by Presidential appointment dated July 28, 1864. Further details lacking. (See Chaplains in Union Army.)[40]

Maloy, Rev. Patrick A.—Presidential appointment to United States Hospital at Alton, Illinois, September

[37] *Ibid.*, Series III, vol. II, p. 278.

[38] Records of Appointments, Hospital Chaplains, p. 31, in Adjutant General's Office, Old Files Division.

[39] *Ibid.*, p. 99.

[40] *Official Army Register*, 1865, p. 79 (Washington, 1865-6).

17, 1863, cancelled by Secretary of War Stanton. Rev. John Vahey appointed instead.[41]

McCarthy, Rev. P. F.—Chaplain by Presidential appointment dated October 2, 1863; approved by Secretary of War Stanton; commission sent through Mr. Callan; accepted October 5, 1863. Age, 30 years. Residence, District of Columbia. Born in Ireland. Catholic priest. Full name, Patrick Francis McCarthy. Submitted testimonials of good standing, etc., as requested by Sections 8 and 9, Act of Congress July 17, 1863. Assignment, United States Hospital at Georgetown, District of Columbia (Seminary Hospital).[42]

McGlynn, Rev. Edward—Chaplain by Presidential appointment dated April 22, 1863; approved by Secretary of War Stanton; commission sent through Surgeon General, April 25, 1863; accepted May 9, 1863. Age, 25 years. Residence, New York. Born in New York. Roman Catholic. Full name, Edward McGlynn. Assignment, United States Hospital at New York City.[43]

McGrane, Rev. Peter.—Chaplain by Presidential proclamation dated October 1, 1862; approved by Secretary of War Stanton; commission sent through Surgeon General, October 15, 1862; accepted October 25, 1862; age, 42 years. Residence, Pennsylvania (in body of commission, Philadelphia). Born in Ireland. Roman Catholic. Full name, as above. Testimonials of good standing submitted as required. Assignment, United States Hospital at Philadelphia. Appointment expired by Constitutional limitation, March 4, 1863. Re-appointed, April 23, 1863, to same hospital.[44]

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[41] *Ibid.*, p. 172.
[42] *Ibid.*, p. 175.
[43] *Ibid.*, p. 149.
[44] *Ibid.*, p. 127.

McGrath, Rev. M. F.—Chaplain by Presidential appointment dated June 13, 1862; approved by Secretary of War Stanton; commission sent through Mr. Callan; accepted June 16, 1862. Age, 29 years; residence, District of Columbia; born in Ireland. Roman Catholic. Full name, Matthew F. McGrath. Assignment, United States Hospital at Georgetown, District of Columbia (Seminary Hospital, branch). Resigned, October 1, 1863.[45]

Ryan, Rev. J. P.—Appointed to United States Hospital at St. Louis (Sisters Hospital) on June 23, 1862. Declined June 27, 1862.[46]

Stephan, Rev. Joseph A.—Chaplain by Presidential appointment dated May 18, 1863; approved by Secretary of War Stanton; commission sent through Surgeon General, care of General Rosecrans, May 23, 1863; accepted May 30, 1863. Age, 40 years. Residence, Indiana. Born in Germany. Roman Catholic. Full name, Joseph Andrew Stephan. Testimonials of good standing, etc., submitted as required. Assignment, United States Hospital at Nashville, Tennessee. Honorably mustered out of service, July 15, 1863.[47]

Vahey, Rev. John.—Chaplain by Presidential appointment dated November 2, 1863; approved by Secretary of War Stanton; commission sent through Surgeon General, November 4, 1863; accepted November 9, 1863; residence, Illinois. Born in Ireland. Roman Catholic. Testimonials of good standing, etc., submitted as required. Assignment, United States Hospital at Alton, Illinois. Resigned, June 30, 1864.[48]

Wiget, Rev. Bernardin.—Chaplain by Presidential appointment dated October 9, 1862; approved by Sec-

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[45] Records of Appointment, *op. cit.*, p. 32.
[46] *Ibid.*, p. 51.
[47] *Ibid.*, p. 162.
[48] *Ibid.*, p. 182.

retary of War Stanton; commission sent through Surgeon General, October 15, 1862; accepted October 19, 1862; age, 41 years. Residence, District of Columbia. Born in Switzerland. Full name, Bernardin F. Wiget. Testimonials of good standing, etc., submitted as required. Assignment, United States Hospital at Washington.[49]

Willett, Rev. Thomas.—Chaplain by Presidential appointment dated May 20, 1863; approved by Secretary of War Stanton; commission sent through Surgeon General, care of General Foster, May 23, 1863; accepted May 30, 1863. Age, 43 years. Residence, North Carolina. Born in Canada. Roman Catholic. Full name, as above. Assignment, U. S. Hospital at Newbern, North Carolina. Resigned January 9, 1864. (See Chaplains in the Union Army).[50]

## Catholic Chaplains in Volunteer Regiments of the Union Army

It has been related in the preceding chapter on the war with Mexico how Catholic chaplains came to be appointed to the Regular Army, and we have seen that up to the Civil War the Catholic *post chaplains* had been few in number. To the equivalent position of *hospital chaplain,* created to meet Civil War needs, there were many Catholic priests appointed before 1865. Hospital chaplains are treated in the preceding chapter; our present concern is with the chaplains attached to the volunteer units (Federalized national guard regiments) of the Union Army. Records are extant of forty-three of these. The manner of keeping regimental rolls, while it tended toward uniformity, differed somewhat from State to State, and accordingly we are informed at greater length concerning the military careers of some of these Catholic

[49] *Ibid.*, p. 126.
[50] *Ibid.*, p. 163.

chaplains than others; furthermore, important data occasionally failed to be recorded in the rolls of inefficiently organized regiments, while in other regiments records have been lost through no want of the effort to preserve them, but because of the fortune of war or the chances of time. In cases where nothing extraordinary appears in the official military records of the chaplains, we are justified in presuming that their conduct in the exercise of their sacred function was what might naturally have been demanded.

We might supplement the scanty records to which the regimental rolls limit us by pursuing the careers of some of the chaplains treated here through various grades of ecclesiastical preferment, as far as the archiepiscopate in one instance, but to do so would constitute an unwarranted departure from the object we have proposed, and unduly swell this volume.[51]

The facts in the biographies following are therefore restricted to those derivable from official military sources, and constitute in themselves ample evidence of the loyalty of the Northern Catholic clergy to the cause of the Union, just as it can be proved that our priesthood has stood steadfastly by the principles of the Republic in all our national crises.

The Confederate Archives contain a remnant of the official papers of the Confederacy that escaped the flames as a victorious Union Army marched on Richmond. Southern historical societies of national repute have contributed facsimiles or copies of their documents, but at most, the Archives are very incomplete.

## Chaplains, U. S. V. A.

BRADY, REV. THOMAS M. Before the end of the first year of warfare, the diocese of Detroit contributed Father Thomas M. Brady as chaplain to the 15th Michi-

[51] Chaplains Ireland, LeRay, McMahon, Manucy, and Pellicier, were elevated to the episcopacy.

gan Infantry, and Father Brady served in that capacity throughout the remainder of the conflict.[52] His enrollment was made on January 1, 1862, and he was officially called into activity on March 13th of the same year.

Father Brady's regiment saw action before Vicksburg and at Kenesaw Mountain, and while he may have been on hospital duty during part of the siege of Vicksburg, that "broke the backbone of the Confederacy", the chaplain was present at the Kenesaw Mountain engagement. He was also engaged at Shiloh, or Pittsburgh Landing, on April 6 and 7, 1862, during which the 15th lost 51 men killed and wounded; at Corinth, in the following month, through which his outfit came unscathed; again at Corinth, on October 3 and 4 of the same year, when the casualties of the 15th numbered 43; at Jackson, Mississippi, in July, 1863; and in 1864, besides Kenesaw Mountain, at Guntersville, Alabama, and Dallas on the Chatahootchie River, near Atlanta; and Jonesboro, Georgia; and just prior to Appomattox, at Wateree River (near Columbia) Georgia.[53]

Father Brady was mustered out of service with his regiment at Little Rock, Arkansas, August 13, 1865. The regiment suffered 51 casualties in the taking of Atlanta. Its total battle loss, in killed and wounded, for the entire war, was 165.

BUTLER, REV. THADDEUS, J. During the course of the unsuccessful attempt by the Texas and Arkansas troops to add the State of Missouri to Confederate territory, an engagement took place at Lexington, Missouri, that resulted in the capture of several Federal units. Among those was the so-called Irish Brigade of Illinois, including the 23d Illinois Infantry, of which Father Thaddeus J. Butler had been chaplain since June 18, 1861.[54] It was two months later that its capture and

[52] Adjutant General's Office (A. G. O.); Old Records Division (O. R. D.); Files of the 15th Michigan Infantry.

[53] Volunteer Battle Register (V. B. R.), pp. 346-347.

[54] A. G. O., O. R. D., Files of the 23d Illinois Infantry.

parole by the rebels took place after it had lost 70 men, killed and wounded. This regiment did not thereafter serve in the most important battles of the war, its records indicating that it took part in only one further engagement of consequence, that at Moorefield, West Virginia, November 9, 1862. No casualties were suffered by the 23d on this occasion.[55] Thereafter, the Irish Brigade formed part of the Army occupying West Virginia. This new State, wrested from the Old Dominion, could not be listed as "safe" Federal territory until the last gun of the Civil War had been fired.

Father Butler thus exercised his entire chaplaincy period in very important theatres of the war. He is officially recognized in his discharge for his sacrifices on the national behalf. His resignation is dated Camp Comiskey, New Creek, West Virginia, March 1, 1863, and his honorable discharge, "on account of disability incident to the service", ten days later. In recommending the acceptance of the resignation, Colonel Mulligan states, "I part with him with regret and, with my Regt., will feel sensibly the loss of his presence and superior example."

CARRIER, REV. J. C., C.S.C. Concerning Father Carrier, chaplain of the 6th Missouri Infantry, we are reduced by the reticence of regimental records to the necessity of recounting only the barest facts. His chaplaincy covered a period of three months. He was enrolled at Walnut Hills, Mississippi, on July 1st, 1863, and regularly mustered into service on July 21, as of the former date.[56] This chaplain was present at Vicksburg, Mississippi, on July 4, 1863, where his regiment suffered the loss of 58 men; at Jackson, Mississippi, July 10 to 16, and at Bravely, Mississippi, July 19, 1863.[57] Father Carrier was honorably discharged upon tender of resignation on October 3, 1863, and returned to his order at Notre Dame, Indiana.

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[55] V. B. R., pp. 416-417.

[56] A. G. O., O. R. D., Files of the 6th Missouri Infantry.

[57] V. B. R., p. 471.

CHRISTY, REV. RICHARD C. Father Christy was enrolled as chaplain of the 78th Pennsylvania Infantry on October 18, 1861, having reported for duty during the previous month.[58]

During the early part of 1862, his regiment was assigned to Tennessee, but did not take part in any engagement until September, while Father Christy was on sick leave. He was absent on such leave from August 31 to December 31, 1862. He was likewise so absent in January and February, 1863. On February 3, 1863, he again applied for leave of absence, presenting the following surgeon's certificate in support of his request:

> The Rev. R. C. Christy, Chaplain of the 78th Regiment of Penna. Vols. having applied for a Certificate on which to Ground an application for leave of absence, I do hereby certify that I have carefully examined this officer, and find that he is suffering from a severe attack of Diarrhoea of Five months' duration, and that in consequence thereof, he is, in my opinion unfit for duty. I further declare my belief that he will not be able to resume his duties in a less period than thirty days, and that a change of climate is necessary to save his life or prevent permanent disability.
>
> Dated at Murfreesboro, Tenn., this day of 1863, Victor D. Miller, Asst. and Acting Surgeon 78th Regt., Pa. Vols.

The rolls for June, 1863, report him absent until May; for August, absent without leave since July 10; and for December, present during November. The date of his return from the absence noted on the August roll is not recorded.

He was mustered out at Kittanning, Pennsylvania, on November 4, 1864, aged 34 years.

We may not assuredly record Father Christy present

[58] A. G. O., O. R. D., Files of the 78th Pennsylvania Infantry.

at the battle of Deep Gap, Georgia, on September 11, 1863, nor at Chickamauga, on the 19th and 20th of the same month, as the records imply his absence at that time. In 1864, when there is recorded no leave of absence, Father Christy was present at Resaca, Georgia, on May 15th, the 78th there losing three men; at New Hope Church (Dallas), Georgia, on May 29th, where 55 men were lost; and Kenesaw Mountain, on June 22, where the 78th lost five men.[59]

COONEY, REV. PETER P. The records of the 35th Indiana Infantry have preserved a number of important facts regarding the services to the regiment of Chaplain Peter P. Cooney, C.S.C., of Notre Dame University. This chaplain demonstrated the significance of the title of "Father" that Catholics give their priests in a manner without known precedent prior to the Civil War. It was his custom after each pay day to return to Indiana with the money of the men of his regiment and distribute it to their families, if they had any, or deposit it for them, if they were without kin. In this way he averted suffering upon the part of families, or the loss or waste of their hard-earned money by soldiers.

Other Civil War chaplains likewise exercised this unusual function.

Father Cooney was enrolled at Notre Dame, Indiana, on October 4, 1861, and mustered into service at Camp Morton, Indiana, on December 11, 1861, although his muster-in was to date from October 4th. He was honorably discharged after the close of the War, on June 16, 1865, at Camp Harker, Tennessee.[60]

He saw action at Stone River, Tennessee, where the regiment lost 82 men; at Chickamauga, where they lost 53; at Lookout Mountain, where they lost 6; and at Kenesaw Mountain, where they lost 42. They also took part in the battles of Perryville, Kentucky (Oct. 8, 1862); Dobbins Ford, Tennessee (December 9, 1862); Resaca,

[59] V. B. R., p. 199.

[60] A. G. O., O. R. D., Files of the 35th Indiana Infantry.

Georgia (May 15, 1864); Dallas, Georgia (May 25, to June 4, 1864); Chatahootchie River (July 4, 1864); Jonesboro, Georgia (August 31, 1864); Frankville, Tennessee (November 30, 1864); and Nashville (December 15-16, 1864).[61]

CORBY, REV. WILLIAM, C.S.C. Father William Corby, of the 88th New York Infantry, served as chaplain throughout three years of the fiercest fighting in the Civil War. He was enrolled in December, 1861, and officially mustered into service only on October 26, 1863, after having actually served from the time of his enrollment. The entry of his name on the muster-roll, however, was dated as of the time of original enrollment.[62]

Father Corby's regiment participated in the majority of the engagements of the Army of the Potomac. The personnel of the 88th were Irish or of Irish descent, which accounts for its membership in the Irish Brigade. With the 88th, Chaplain Corby saw action at Yorktown, Virginia, on April 4 to May 3, 1862; Fair Oaks from May 30 to June 1 (16 casualties); Gaines Mills, June 27 (1 casualty); Savage Station, June 29 (58 casualties); White Oak Swamp, June 28 (10 casualties); Malvern Hill, July 1 (13 casualties); Antietam, September 17 (86 casualties); Fredericksburg, December 13 (137 casualties); Chancellorsville, May 3, 1863 (50 casualties); Gettysburg, July 2 and 3 (26 casualties); Bristow Station, October 14 (2 casualties); Mine Run, November 29; Wilderness, May 5 to 7, 1864 (53 casualties); Spottsylvania, May 8 to 21 (20 casualties); North Anna, May 23; Talopatomy, May 29 to 30 (6 casualties); Cold Harbor, June 3 to 12 (11 casualties); Petersburg, June 16 to July 26, July 29 to August 14, August 25 to October, 1864 (48 casualties); Deep Bottom, July 26 to August 14 (5 casualties); Reams Station, August 25, 1864 (6 casualties).[63]

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[61] V. B. R., p. 372.

[62] A. G. O., O. R. D., Files of the 88th New York Infantry.

[63] V. B. R., p. 117.

During a minor action at Auburn, Virginia, on October 14, 1863, the rolls show that Chaplain Corby lost his horse and equipment.

A monument on Gettysburg battlefield stands near the spot where Father Corby gave general absolution to the Irish Brigade before they entered into that bloodiest battle of the war. A tablet which decorates the front of St. Francis Xavier's Church, in that town, also commemorates and portrays this incident.

Father Corby's honorable discharge was granted on September 27, 1864, per Special Orders No. 360, Army of the Potomac on tender of his resignation. The latter was dated "Hdqrs. 88th Batt'n. N. Y. R. Vols., Consolidated Brigade, 1st Division, 2nd Corps. Sept. 20, 1864", and states the following: "First my Regiment being reduced, by recent Campaigns, to the number of a company. Second, I wish to return to the University of Notre Dame (of which I am a member) subject to the wishes of the Very Revd. E. Sorin—president of said university, expressed to me in a letter of the 9th instant." . . .

In approving the forwarding of the resignation, James E. McGee, the Lieutenant-Colonel commanding the brigade, states: "The Rev. Mr. Corby has served nearly three years as Chaplain of the 88th N. Y. Vols. to the entire satisfaction of the officers and men of that Regt."

CORCORAN, REV. EDWARD P. For the most part, the fortune of the Federal arms in the early campaigns of the Civil War was decidedly unfavorable. We are obliged, therefore, to record the capture of the regiments of several of the chaplains treated here; but Chaplain Edward P. Corcoran, of the 61st Ohio Infantry, experienced the distinction of being captured alone, while on his way to Washington. This is at least to be inferred from our only source of information—the regimental records.[64]

Father Corcoran was mustered into service at Columbus, Ohio, on December 14, 1861. After participating

[64] A. G. O., O. R. D., Files of the 61st Ohio Infantry.

with the regiment in the fighting at Freeman's Ford, Sulphur Springs, Groveton, and the second battle of Bull Run (all in Virginia),[65] he was detailed in the following terms to recruiting service:

> Captain E. P. Corcoran 61st Reg' Ohio Vols., is hereby detailed to proceed to Columbus, Ohio, on recruiting Service. He will report for instructions to the Superintendent of the Recruiting Service for Ohio, and will rejoin his regiment within ten days.

While *en route* to Washington to report to the Superintendent of the Recruiting Service for Ohio, in pursuit of this detail, his capture by the Confederates seems to have taken place. A Field and Staff Muster Roll for November and December, 1862, shows him absent, and observes: "Reported to have been taken prisoner while on the road to Washington."

Father Corcoran was honorably discharged from the service on January 26, 1863, upon tender of resignation.

DILLON, REV. JAMES M., S.J. A chaplain who partook, with his regiment, of the vicissitudes of the bitterest fighting of the campaign of 1862 was Father James M. Dillon, of the 63d New York Infantry.[66] The 63d was engaged, on the dates indicated, in the following battles: Yorktown, April 3 to May 4, 1862; Fair Oaks, May 31 to June 1; June 24 and June 26; Gaines Mills, June 27; Peach Orchard, June 29; Savage Station, June 29; White Oak Swamp, June 30; Malvern Hill, July 1; and Antietam, Maryland, September 17, 1862.[67]

Casualties of 171 were suffered by the regiment at Antietam, and 22 in the other battles.

Father Dillon was enrolled October 20, 1861, at New York City, and mustered in on November 13 (to date from October 30) at New York City. He was honorably discharged from the service on tender of his resignation,

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[65] V. B. R., p. 309.

[66] A. G. O., O. R. D., Files of the 63d New York Infantry.

[67] V. B. R., p. 105.

per Special Orders, No. 285, dated "Hdqrs. Army of the Potomac, Camp near Knoxville, October 18, 1862". The cause of his resignation is not remarked; however, a surgeon's certificate dated August 12, 1862, shows him incapacitated for duty for thirty days from date.

On April 14, 1862, Chaplain Dillon was granted a leave of absence for six days "to visit Baltimore, Md. to obtain sacred oils from the Archbishop of that diocese, which are absolutely necessary for all the Catholic Chaplains of this Division".

DOANE, REV. GEORGE H. As his regiment enlisted for a period of only three months, we naturally find but scant record in its annals of Chaplain George H. Doane. Father Doane was chaplain on the Staff of the Brigade, New Jersey Militia, which consisted of four regiments mustered into service on May 1, 1861, for a period of three months.[68]

A letter from the Adjutant General of the State of New Jersey, Frederick Gilkyson, states that [69]

> It is certified, that the records of this office show that George H. Doane was commissioned Chaplain, New Jersey Brigade, Militia, May 10, 1861; appointed by Honorable Charles S. Olden, Governor of New Jersey, to serve balance of term; honorably discharged July 31, 1861, at Trenton, New Jersey, during the War of the Rebellion.

That the records of the War Department yield nothing in the way of martial value concerning this chaplain or his regiment, gives rise to the suspicion that Chaplain Doane's outfit did not get to the battle front. That it should have volunteered for so short a term seems strange to-day, but it will be remembered that similar short enlistments were the bane of the Revolution. They were *relicta* of the medieval military equation: one cam-

[68] Office of the Adjutant General of the State of New Jersey; Files of the New Jersey Brigade Militia.

[69] Trenton, March 5, 1928.

paign, one war. President Lincoln was quick to realize the obsoleteness of that condition, and, after the first Bull Run, the short term nuisance was abolished.

EGAN, REV. COSTNEY L., O.P. A year's service and 18 days' action were sufficient to show Father Costney L. Egan the horrors of war.[70] His regiment—the 9th Massachusetts Infantry—lost 136 men in the Battle of the Wilderness and 139 at Spottsylvania Court House during the period from May 5th to May 20th, 1864; and on May 23d, fought again at North Anna, Virginia, without recorded casualty.[71]

Father Egan was enrolled September 18, 1863, at Culpeper, Virginia; mustered into service November 25, 1863 (to date from September 18), at "Near Kellys Ford, Virginia"; and was honorably discharged June 21, 1864, at Boston, Massachusetts, on muster out of the regiment.

Chaplain Egan was granted five days' leave of absence January 16, 1864, to visit his home in Washington, D. C., in order to purchase a horse, and many things necessary to the celebration of the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass.

FUSSEDER, REV. FRANCIS. Unusual fortitude was displayed by Father Francis Fusseder, of Wisconsin, in that he served a second enlistment during the Civil War after ill health had terminated his first.

Father Fusseder was commissioned chaplain of the 24th Wisconsin Infantry by the Governor of the State on September 3, 1862; was mustered into service September 22 (to date from September 3) at Louisville, Kentucky; and was honorably discharged July 28, 1863, on tender of resignation. The latter was accepted in Special Field Orders, No. 206, dated "Hdqrs. Dept. of the Cumberland, Winchester".[72]

Later he was commissioned to the grade of chaplain

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[70] A. G. O., O. R. D., Files of the 9th Massachusetts Infantry.

[71] V. B. R., p. 33.

[72] A. G. O., O. R. D., Files of the 24th Wisconsin Infantry.

with the 17th Wisconsin Infantry, to take effect from July 14, 1864. He served through the remainder of the war, and was mustered out with the Field and Staff officers on July 14, 1865, at Louisville, Kentucky.[73]

GESELACHOWSKI, REV. ALEXANDER. The records of the 2d New Mexico Infantry severely limit our investigation of the military career of Father Alexander Geselachowski, or Gayelachomski, or Gzrelausky.[74] It can only be stated that during his chaplaincy two minor engagements were fought by his regiment, at Valverde, and at Pevalto, New Mexico, February 21 and April 15, 1862. In the first battle the regiment lost one man.[75]

Father Geselachowski was commissioned as chaplain by the Governor of New Mexico, February 3, 1862, and was mustered out with his regiment at Santa Fé, New Mexico on May 31, 1862.

GILLEN, REV. PAUL E., C.S.C. Father Gillen, the chaplain of the 170th New York Infantry, appears, as do Fathers Cooney and Corby, as a member of the contingent sent by Notre Dame University to the Army. He was enrolled as chaplain October 19, 1862, at Washington, D. C., mustered in November 25 (to date from October 19), at Newport News, Virginia; and was honorably discharged July 15, 1865, at "near Munsons Hill, Virginia", on muster out of the regiment.[76]

On August 13, 1864, Chaplain Gillen applied for leave of absence for twenty days to visit Notre Dame, Indiana. The application was based on the following reasons:

> In consequence of my advanced age, and the arduous duties which have devolved upon me, since my Reg't joined the Army of the Potomac my health has during the past two or three months become effectually undermined, and in proof of this asser-

[73] A. G. O., O. R. D., Files of the 17th Wisconsin Infantry.
[74] A. G. O., O. R. D., Files of the 2d New Mexico Infantry.
[75] V. B. R., p. 532.
[76] A. G. O., O. R. D., Files of the 170th New York Infantry.

> tion I append the certificate of the Surgeon-in-chief of the Brigade . . . No loss will ensue to the men so far as chaplain is concerned, another gentleman having kindly volunteered to perform my duties in my absence.

Leave of absence for the period requested was granted to him in Special Orders No. 229, "Hdqurs. Army of the Potomac, August 25, 1864". The Field and Staff Muster Rolls for December 31, 1864, till June 30, 1865, show him on detached service in De Russy's Brigade, Defenses of Washington "per Special Orders No. 395, War Department, Adjutant General's Office, November 12, 1864".

During Father Gillen's term of service with the 170th, his regiment suffered the loss of 374 men at the following engagements: Deserted House, January 30, 1863; Holland House, May 16; Auburn, October 13; Black Water, May 12, 1864; Spottsylvania Court House, May 8 to 21; North Anna, May 23 to 26 (96 casualties); Talopotamy, May 28 to 31; Cold Harbor, June 1 to 12; Petersburg, June 16 (138 casualties); Deep Bottom, July 25-27; August 14-16; Reams Station, August 25-26; and Boydton Road, October 27, 1864.[77]

GOMBETTELLI, REV. JAMES. The occupation of the 13th Pennsylvania Cavalry in engagements of a minor character during his term of service explains the brevity of the regimental records in regard to Chaplain James Gombettelli.[78] He was enrolled as chaplain and mustered in December 23, 1862, at Baltimore, Maryland, and was honorably discharged June 7, 1863, on tender of resignation, which stated:

> I have the honor to tender my Resignation as Roman Catholic Chaplain of the 13th Reg't Penna. Cavalry for the following reasons:
>
> Three-fourths of the members of the Reg't are of a different Religious denomination from my own.

[77] V. B. R., p. 139.

[78] A. G. O., O. R. D., Files of the 13th Pennsylvania Cavalry.

The battles and casualties of this regiment during Father Gombettelli's service were: Woodstock, Virginia, February 26, 1863 (losses 171); Strasburg, April 22 and 28 (losses 31); Piedmont Station, May 16 (losses 1).[79]

IRELAND, REV. JOHN (later Archbishop of St. Paul). Taken in conjunction with those of several other chaplains recounted here, the military record of Archbishop Ireland shows that a Bishop of Civil War days frequently placed his diocese under a severe handicap in allowing one of his clergy to volunteer as chaplain.[80] Since immigration was practically unimpeded, due to the exigencies of the war, the Catholic population of all States grew constantly and the need of priests to minister to them increased in proportion. Furthermore, it was next to impossible to determine in advance with what regiments the Catholic soldiers were most numerous, and thus it chanced that now and then a Catholic chaplain was, like Father Gombettelli, assigned to a regiment having very few Catholics. Again, as Father Ireland experienced, battle losses and expiration of enlistments diminished the Catholic soldiers of a given regiment to a comparative handful, which made it desirable that the services of the chaplains be utilized in spheres of greater need.

Father Ireland was enrolled as chaplain of the 5th Minnesota Infantry at Camp Clear Creek, June 22, 1862, and was mustered in July 7, at Corinth, Mississippi. He was honorably discharged April 3, 1863, per Special Orders No. 93, issued from the Headquarters Department of the Tennessee.

His resignation is dated "Hdqrs. 5th Reg't Minn. Vols. Inf., below Helena, Ark., March 19, 1863". It reads as follows:

> My motive for thus resigning my position as chaplain of the said regiment, is that, within a few days past I have received a letter from my Bishop, who,

[79] V. B. R., pp. 164-165.

[80] A. G. O., O. R. D., Files of the 5th Minnesota Infantry.

> in view of the fact, that the clergyman, who has taken my place in Minnesota, is sick, and totally unable to attend to the spiritual wants of a large congregation, and further, in view of the fact, that in this regiment the number of those belonging to the Catholic church (of which church I am a minister) is comparatively so reduced, as not to warrant any more the continual attendance of a clergyman of that church on this regiment, invites me to return home as soon as the laws and regulations of the army will allow me.

A Sioux uprising of unexplained motivation took place in 1862, during which the 5th Minnesota participated in the fighting at Redwood, Minnesota, August 18, losing 27 men; at Fort Ridgety, Minnesota, August 20 to 22, where 10 men were lost; and at Fort Abercrombie, in the Dakota Territory, where on September 3d, 6th, and 23d, they lost a total of four men.[81] Twenty-four men were lost in the two days' fighting at Corinth, Mississippi, October 3d and 4th.[82]

KELLY, REV. THOMAS. Of Father Thomas F. Kelly, we are again but meagerly informed. We know only that his regiment, the 90th Illinois, participated in a series of battles which are not accorded separate paragraphs in the chronicles of the war, but were relatively as disastrous as Gettysburg to the 90th Illinois Infantry, if disaster be measured by sacrifice and not by the importance of the objective.[83]

Father Kelly was enrolled as chaplain in Chicago, September 23, 1862, and three months later his regiment was occupied at the Tennessee front. On December 26 and 29, the 90th Illinois fought without casualty at Nolansville and Triune. At Stone River, Tennessee, they

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[81] V. B. R., p. 519.

[82] A picture of the 5th Minn. Inf. showing Archbishop Ireland, marching through the town of Corinth, Miss., hangs in the State Capitol, St. Paul, Minn., painted by Ed. Blackfield and two assistants.

[83] A. G. O., O. R. D., Files of the 90th Illinois Infantry.

fought from December 31 to January 4, with casualties of 138 men. On June 24 and 26, 1863, they lost 11 men at Liberty Gap, Tennessee. In the following month Father Kelly tendered his resignation.[84]

The resignation is dated "Hdqrs. 90th Reg't Ill. Vol. Inf. in the field near Jackson, Miss., July 13, 1863", and reads as follows:

> My reason for so doing is sickness. My health being so bad that I am unable to discharge my proper duties and therefore, in justice to the regiment and Govt. I tender my resignation.

Father Kelly's resignation was accepted in Special Orders No. 199, Department of the Tennessee, Vicksburg, July 23, 1863. His honorable discharge was issued as of the same date.

LAMBERT, REV. LOUIS A. Having only the records of the 18th Illinois Infantry to guide us, we are compelled to record of Chaplain Louis A. Lambert that he withdrew from the service under apparently undefended charges of neglecting his sacred ministry.[85] All we know of him we learn through his enemies, in whose representations an anti-Catholic bias is perceptible; and yet these charges failed to arouse General Grant or the War Department to the seriousness and the gravity of their import, for upon its receipt at headquarters, the document was labelled "commanding officers of the 18th Illinois stating their grievances", and left to languish in oblivion until found in the archives. Nevertheless, Father Lambert's life with the regiment must have been rendered extremely unpleasant by discourteous and uncivil treatment of his fellow officers, since it took but four months after the episode of the petition to induce him to send in his resignation, which sheds no other light upon the above problem than "having greater liberty I can enlarge sphere

[84] V. B. R., p. 439.

[85] A. G. O., O. R. D., Files of the 18th Illinois Infantry.

of my usefulness to those of the army who desire my service".

Father Lambert was enrolled and mustered into service July 1, 1861, at Shawneetown, Illinois. On April 2, 1862, he tendered his resignation, which was accepted and took effect April 16 in virtue of Special Orders No. 111, Department of the Mississippi.

Thirty-one officers of this regiment drew up a petition for the removal of Chaplain Lambert, and sent it to General U. S. Grant at Cairo, Illinois. It is dated December 9, 1861, at Camp McClernand, and reads as follows:

> We the undersigned commissioned officers of the 18th Regiment Illinois Volunteers feeling ever mindful that we are daily making history which will be either creditable or discreditable to ourselves our children and posterity are greatly impressed with the necessity of having the moral faculties of the men composing our command well cultivated and instructed in all those divine principles calculated to make men honest upright and humane having a revential respect for the rule of right instead of wrong and believing *this can be more easily attained* [italics ours] by having proper religious discourses delivered by authorized persons ordained by the rules and regulations of the *various Protestant denominations* [italics ours] extant in our Country Most respectfully ask that we be permitted to set forth unto your honor the grievances which are weighing us and our command down almost beyond endurance.
>
> 1st On or about the first days of July last our Colonel M H Lasler appointed Father Louis Lambert a roman catholic to the office of Chaplain of this regiment who has been regularly mustered and paid as such from the day of his appointment until this time although he is seldom amongst us he has never on a single occasion held any kind of religious ser-

vices in this regiment. he has never visited our sick either in quarters or in hospital nor has he made a single quarterly report showing the moral and religious conditions of the regiment as required by the Army regulations but has wholly neglected to perform any of the duties of chaplain.

2nd Said Chaplain and Col M H Lawlor are the only officers in the regiment of the roman catholic persuasion nine tenths of the men of the regiment are protestants *holding strong prejudice against all catholic priests* [italics ours] who would not attend his ministration without compulsion were he disposed to hold any

3d The Commissioned officers of this regiment supposing that their wishes and desires would be consulted by said Colonel in the appointment of a chaplain most respectfully petitioned Col Lawler to appoint a Protestant minister of acknowledged ability and extensive usefulness to the chaplaincy of this regiment which petition was in writing and signed by ten captains and twelve or fifteen Lieutenants of said regiment in fact and truth all officers to which it was shown signed it except the Major which petition was personally presented to Col Lawler by Captain Brush many days previous to the appointment of said Lambert Yet in despite of these respectful representations of our desires Col Lawler appointed said Chaplain upon the sole ground that he was a roman catholic.

4th We further show that a majority of the members of this regiment are members of and belong to churches of the protestant persuasion and are very conscientious in their devotions and maintain a fair reputation for religious deportment and rectitude.

5th From some cause or law unknown to your petitioners Col Lawler required that the morning reports at several different times and for many days at a time should show that the chaplain was present

when in fact and in truth he well knew he was not this act still increased the indignity and aroused anew the prejudices existing against said chaplain thus destroying all the good he possibly might otherwise have been able to accomplish

6th And we further show that the whole number of catholics in the regiment is but ninety whilst the number of Protestants is eight hundred and thirty

7th And we further show that on various occasions when catholic service has been held in Cairo those of that persuasion have been indiscriminately permitted by Col Lawler to pass the guard lines for the purpose of attending church and that instead of attending the same or after attending the same before their return to their quarters became intoxicated thereby giving great trouble and annoyance to the officers of the regiment thus bringing disgrace upon the entire command from the effects of which we are in a measure remidiless

8th We further show that a large majority of the men of this regiment are free holders and pay large amount of taxes at home and are honored members of the community in which they live being by occupation Farmers Physicians Lawyers school teachers preachers and Mechanics their time property and lives they are willing to sacrifice for their country but their fair reputation they hold most sacred and will not shrink from Maintaining it in tact

9th We further show that other catholic priest in this immediate vicinity who are personally acquainted with Father Lambert and his general deportment have expressed themselves to the effect that he was not at all qualified to fill the position which he now occupies and speak of him in a very *desultory* [italics ours] manner clearly showing that he is not held in fair esteem by his peers

These a few only of the many grievances which we might present in regard to this matter are suffi-

cient we doubt not for moment to enlist your co operation and approval to such an extent that you will readily give us such relief as may be in your power

*We do not prefer charges* [italics ours] for a court martial but ask and claim that he be withdrawn from the service by those possessing the power and in duty bound we will ever pray

Signed by Lt. Col. Thomas Burgess et al.

Between the petition set forth above and the acceptance of Father Lambert's resignation, the 18th took part in the capture of Forts Henry and Donelson, sustaining losses of 211 in the latter battle, and at Shiloh, where they lost 87.[86]

LEMAGIE, REV. CHARLES L. Conflicting entries in the muster-in roll of the 2d Regiment, Louisiana Cavalry, have compelled us to seek the facts in the service of Father Charles L. Lemagie from the War Department personnel itself. That department reports as follows:[87]

The name Charles L. Lemagie appears with the rank of Post Chaplain of an individual muster in roll of the 2nd Louisiana Cavalry, dated at New Orleans, September 9, 1863, which roll shows that he was enrolled and mustered into service September 9, 1863, and that he was appointed from civil life by Major Banks.

That name also appears with rank of chaplain on an individual muster in roll of the 2nd Louisiana Cavalry, dated at New Orleans, Louisiana, November 27, 1863, which shows that he was enrolled and mustered into service to date October 8, 1863, and that he was appointed from civil life as chaplain to fill an original vacancy. His name is not taken up on any muster rolls of the regiment and no additional record of him as a member of the 2nd Louisiana Cavalry has been found.

[86] V. B. R., p. 414.

[87] War Department, A. G. O., O. R. D., 201; January 10, 1928.

There is on file a copy of a provisional commission, which shows that Charles Louis Lemagie was appointed chaplain of the Post of Carrollton, Louisiana on September 7, 1863 by Major General M. T. Banks. This commission, however, is cancelled by order of General Stone on October 8, 1863. There is a pencil notation on this commission as follows:

> "Let this com. be cancelled & one issued to same person as chaplain, 2nd Louisiana Cavalry. Let him be detached and ordered on duty at Carrollton!"
>
> CPS

There is also on file an unsigned letter dated September 10, 1863, and addressed to the Secretary of War, in which it is stated, "I have provisionally appointed Mr. Charles Louis Lemagie chaplain at Carrollton, La." There is also a letter on file from the Colonel of the 2d Louisiana Cavalry, addressed to Major G. N. Drake, A.A.G., Department of the Gulf, January 26, 1864, in which it is stated that Chaplain Lemagie has been doing duty as Post Chaplain at Carrollton, and requires a special order detaching him from his regiment for that duty.

In a letter dated at Carrollton, Louisiana, September 14, 1864, C. L. Lemagie, Post Chaplain, states to Major Drake, A.A.G., Department of the Gulf, that he was appointed Post Chaplain at Carrollton, Louisiana, by Major General Banks on September 7, 1863; that his appointment was disapproved at Washington, D. C., that he was then appointed chaplain of the 2d Louisiana Cavalry October 9, 1863; and mustered in on that date and detailed as Post Chaplain of Carrollton, Louisiana, and had received the emoluments allowed by the government up to August 1864. He further states that he has been informed by Colonel Kieley that the 2d Louisiana Cavalry is to be consolidated with the 1st Louisiana Cavalry, and requested that he be transferred with

the 1st Louisiana Cavalry. This letter was forwarded to Colonel H. Robinson, Provost Marshal, General of the Department of the Gulf for his recommendation, and on September 17, 1864, he returned the letter to the Department Headquarters stating that, "Not knowing the petitioner I cannot recommend him until he has satisfied the requirements of Sect 8 Act of Congress approved July 17th, 1862".

There is on file a letter dated Headquarters Provost Marshal General, Department of the Gulf, New Orleans, September 22, 1864, addressed to Major George B. Drake, A.A.G., Department of the Gulf, in which Colonel Robinson requests that Rev. Charles Louis Lemagie, Chaplain of the 2d Louisiana Cavalry, be commissioned as chaplain of the 1st Louisiana Cavalry, to fill an original vacancy. He states that Rev. Lemagie has satisfied the requirements of Section 8, Act of Congress approved July 17, 1862, and has the highest recommendations for loyalty. Nothing has been found of record to show that any action was taken on this letter.

The General Accounting Office submits a transcript of the record of payments to Charles L. Lemagie, Chaplain, 2d Louisiana Cavalry, which records show that he was paid for his services from October 8, 1863 to August 31, 1864, and that no further record of payments to him have been found.

The 2d Louisiana Cavalry was consolidated with the 1st Louisiana Cavalry on September 7, 1864, and the Volunteer Army Register shows that Chaplain Charles L. Lemagie, chap. 2d La. Cav. was discharged by reason of consolidation. It is, therefore, recommended that the following notation be filed with his record.

The notation referred to is a letter from Major General Lutz Wahl, the Adjutant General, to the General Accounting Office of the Records Division on 5th and F Sts.

Northwest, Washington, D. C., and embraces two items:[88]

1. The Secretary of War requests to be furnished a transcript of the record of payments to Charles L. Lemagie, Post Chaplain and Chaplain, 2d Louisiana Cavalry.

2. The records show that he was enrolled and mustered into service September 9, 1863, as Post Chaplain of the 2d Louisiana Cavalry. The records also show that he was enrolled October 8, 1863, as Chaplain, 2d Louisiana Cavalry, but nothing has been found of record to show when he was discharged.

The report from the Comptroller General of the United States shows that Chaplain Lemagie was paid from October 8, 1863 to August 31, 1864, on the basis of $116.00 per month.[89]

One of the letters referred to by the War Department in relation to Father Lemagie's Carrollton appointment is of such a highly laudatory character that it is here quoted in full. It is signed by R. B. Brown, Captain Provost Marshal, Carrollton, Louisiana; bears the date of August 30, 1863, and is addressed to Brigadier General Stone, Chief of Staff, Department of the Gulf. It reads:[90]

> General: The undersigned hereby certify that the Rev. Chas. L. Lemagie has for all the time our troops have been stationed at this Post, Constantly attended to the soldiers in the Hospital and at the Burial of deceased Soldiers, and this at all times and hours day or night, without regard to circumstances, we would therefore earnestly recommend his appointment to the position of Post Chaplain at this Post.

A notation of recommendation is appended to this, signed by M. K. Lawler, Brigadier General of the Corps.

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[88] A. G. O., O. R. D., "Lemagie, Charles L.", December 13, 1927.

[89] Reed, F. Martin, General Accounting Office, R-PF-338, January 5, 1928.

[90] A. G. O., O. R. D., Files of the 2d Louisiana Cavalry.

To this letter Colonel Thomas W. Cahill, commanding the 2nd Brigade, 4th Division, adds:[91]

> When the U. S. Forces first landed in Carrollton on the 5th of May 1862 the within named Reverend Gentleman visited our sick men in Hospitals and attended their burials and I understand he has continued on this duty ever since without fee or reward, during the greater part of this time I was personally cognizant of the facts and I would therefore earnestly recommend his appointment.

A very unique allusion to the ecclesiastical situation in the South is indicated in Colonel Harai Robinson's letter of recommendation, in which he attributes to Father Lemagie "the highest recommendations for loyalty and is moreover feeling the oppression of the higher dignitaries of his Church in this diocese for his loyalty to the U. S."[92]

MARTIN, REV. MICHAEL F. We are again confronted with reticence in the annals as regards Chaplain Martin of the 69th Pennsylvania Infantry. We can report only the fact that he was enrolled at Camp Observation on October 15, 1861; was mustered in October 31 (to date from August 19) at Camp Observation, Maryland; and was honorably discharged for disability on June 19, 1862.[93]

The records show that this chaplain was engaged with his regiment at Yorktown where the Peninsular campaign started; Fair Oaks, May 31, 1862; and Garnett's House, Virginia, June 18, 1862. Losses were one at Fair Oaks and three at Garnett's House.[94]

McATEE, REV. FRANCIS. The fact that official muster of chaplains sometimes followed a long period of actual service leaves us at a loss in interpreting the mili-

[91] *Ibid.*
[92] *Ibid.*
[93] A. G. O., O. R. D., Files of the 69th Pennsylvania Infantry.
[94] V. B. R., p. 196.

tary record of Father Francis McAtee, of the 31st New York Infantry. He was enrolled as chaplain at Alexandria, Virginia, on October 30, 1861, but only mustered in officially on February 5, 1863, at White Oak Church. The muster record is to date from the time of enrollment.[95]

Father McAtee was with his regiment at the following battles: West Point, Virginia, May 7, 1862 (losses 74); Gaines Mills, June 27 (losses 101); White Oak Swamp, June 28 (losses 4); Glendale, June 30 (losses 6); Crompton's Gap, September 14; Antietam, September 16 and 17; Fredericksburg, December 11 and 15; Maryes Heights, May 3, 1863 (losses 71); Salem Heights, April 4 (losses 82); Chancellorsville, April 5.[96]

These engagements all took place in Virginia, except those at Crompton's Gap and Antietam, which were in Maryland.

On May 6, 1863, in answer to his request, Chaplain McAtee received permission to visit Baltimore for the purpose of procuring some articles necessary for church service.

Father McAtee was mustered out, with the field and staff officers, on June 4, 1863, at New York City.

McCOLLUM, REV. BERNARD (McCULLUM). Chaplain Bernard McCollum, of the 116th Pennsylvania Infantry, was mustered in near Petersburg, Virginia, on November 18, 1864, and saw service during Grant's final drive. His organization during that time fought at Petersburg, March 30, 1865, without casualty, at Boynton Road, Virginia, the following day, with a loss of 15; and two days later at South Side Rail Road, Virginia, where two men were lost.[97]

Chaplain McCollum was honorably discharged on the general muster-out of his regiment at Alexandria, Vir-

[95] A. G. O., O. R. D., Files of the 31st New York Infantry.
[96] V. B. R., p. 94.
[97] V. B. R., p. 213.

ginia, by virtue of General Orders No. 26, Army of the Potomac, June 3, 1865.[98]

McCOSKER, REV. JOHN. Death while on leave of absence ended the six months' chaplaincy of Father John McCosker, of the 55th Pennsylvania Infantry.

Father McCosker was enrolled October 28, 1861, at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania; mustered into service December 6, 1861, at Camp Hamilton, Virginia; and died June 4, 1862, at Philadelphia.[99]

Chaplain McCosker's application for leave of absence for 30 days is dated "Camp of the 55th Pennsylvania Volunteers, April 20, 1862". It states that

> This application is rendered unavoidable by the following circumstances: the supply of certain articles indispensable to the proper celebration of the solemnities and rites of the church of which Father McCosker is a minister, being exhausted, he must proceed to some point to procure a supply.

During his term of service the 55th participated in the battle of Edisto Island, South Carolina, losing 22 men.[100]

McKEE, REV. EDWARD. Wounds received or sickness contracted at the battle of Fredericksburg, in which his regiment lost 88 men, seems to have terminated the military career of Rev. Edward McKee, chaplain of the 116th Pennsylvania Infantry.[101]

This chaplain was enrolled and mustered in on September 24, 1862, at Harrisburg, and was honorably discharged December 21, 1862, on tender of his resignation.[102]

This resignation is dated at "Camp near Falmouth, Va., December 18th 1862", and is based upon a surgeon's

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[98] A. G. O., O. R. D., Files of the 116th Pennsylvania Infantry.
[99] A. G. O., O. R. D., Files of the 55th Pennsylvania Infantry.
[100] V. B. R., p. 191.
[101] A. G. O., O. R. D., Files of the 116th Pennsylvania Infantry.
[102] V. B. R., p. 213.

certificate of disability which states that he is incapacitated for the performance of his duties as chaplain.

McMAHON, REV. LAURENCE. A record similar to that of Father McKee is that of Chaplain Laurence McMahon, of the 28th Massachusetts Infantry.[103]

Father McMahon was enrolled and mustered in on June 28, 1862, at Boston, and was honorably discharged on May 30, 1863, on tender of resignation, due to disability incurred in the line of duty.

During the period of his chaplaincy, Father McMahon participated with his regiment in the following battles, with the losses indicated: Bristow Station, Virginia, August 27, 1862; Bull Run, August 30 (losses 127); Chantilly, September 1 (losses 68); South Mountain, Maryland, September 17 (losses 9); Antietam, September 17 (losses 37); Fredericksburg, December 15 to 16 (losses 120); Chancellorsville, May 3 to 5, 1863, (losses 24).[104]

MIETTINGER, REV. GUSTAVUS (METTINGER). The good will of our German citizens toward the Union cause is amply attested, and there is a case recorded of a German priest who, with the best will possible, was unable to give effective service because of the limitations encountered by the authorities in making assignments. This priest—Father Gustavus Miettinger—was mustered into service as chaplain of the 2d New York Infantry on July 14, 1861.[105] This regiment was soon advanced to the war zone in the Virginia region, when Father Miettinger was sent from Fortress Monroe on September 28, 1861, to purchase instruments for the regimental band. After six months' service the chaplain decided that his situation with the regiment was unsatisfactory, as the soldiers attached to it were chiefly Irish and Protestant. He expressed his preference for a German regiment with many Catholics. He further stated

[103] A. G. O., O. R. D., Files of the 28th Massachusetts Infantry.
[104] V. B. R., p. 40.
[105] A. G. O., O. R. D., Files of the 2d New York Infantry.

that he was a professor, and, as a priest, spoke English, French, and German. It is apparent that his meaning was that he spoke sufficient English for the purposes of the confessional, but not for the preaching of sermons and the general duties of a chaplain. At any rate, Chaplain Miettinger did not possess sufficient confidence in his linguistic ability to write his letters in any other language to Departmental Headquarters than in the German language.

Apparently, there was no such regiment available as Father Miettinger desired, and he was discharged from service on March 3, 1862.

MIGNAULT, REV. NAPOLEON. We have already related the case of a chaplain of the 17th Wisconsin Infantry, Father Fusseder, and the circumstances attending his honorable discharge from that regiment and his subsequent service with the 24th Wisconsin. Another Catholic chaplain served with the 17th, Father Napoleon Mignault, who was with that regiment for a period of nearly two years.[106] Father Mignault was mustered in at Madison on March 19, 1862, and was present at the battle of Corinth, Mississippi, on October 3 and 4 of the same year.[107] The 17th lost 21 men in that desperate contest. In the following year this regiment took part in the siege of Vicksburg (May 19 to July 4), losing 63 men. The vicissitudes of this strenuous campaign told on Father Mignault, and upon recommendation of a military commission made in November, 1863, he was honorably discharged for physical disability, February 9, 1864.[108]

MOONEY, REV. THOMAS H. During a three months' conscription of the 69th New York Militia Infantry, its chaplain was the Rev. Thomas H. Mooney,[109] He was enrolled as chaplain on April 20, 1861, and mustered

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[106] A. G. O., O. D. R., Files of the 17th Wisconsin Infantry.

[107] V. B. R., p. 492.

[108] A. G. O., O. R. D., Files of the 17th Wisconsin Infantry.

[109] A. G. O., O. R. D., Files of the 69th New York Militia Infantry; Corby, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

into service on the 9th of the following month.[110] On July 21, the regiment lost 133 men at the first battle of Bull Run. It was mustered out on August 3, 1861.

MULLEN, REV. DANIEL. The warfare in the lower Mississippi Valley had a telling effect on the men of the Union Army, apart from the casualties of battle, and hence we have another case of the incapacitation of a chaplain in the Vicksburg campaign—Father Daniel Mullen, of the 9th Connecticut Infantry.[111] Father Mullen was mustered into service to date from November 17, 1861, and was honorably discharged for disability on August 26, 1862, per Special Orders no. 304, Headquarters Department of the Gulf, New Orleans.

The surgeon's certificate of disability accompanying his resignation reads as follows:

> I do hereby certify on honor that I have carefully examined this officer and find that he is suffering from the effects of Typhoid Fever and Diarrhoea contracted while in camp opposite Vicksburg; and in consequence thereof, he is, in my opinion, unfit for duty. I further declare my belief that the prospect of recovery—while a resident of a Southern climate—is distant and very uncertain.

The 9th Connecticut during Father Mullen's chaplaincy fought at Ellis Cliff, Mississippi, on June 22, 1862, and at Grand Gulf two days later, without recorded casualty.[112]

Later in the war, Father Rizzo (*infra*) served for a period with this regiment.

MURPHY, REV. PATRICK J. R. An experience somewhat similar to Father Mullen's was undergone by the chaplain of the 58th Illinois Infantry, Father Patrick J. R. Murphy.

Father Murphy was enrolled as chaplain on February 11, 1863, at Butler, Illinois, and mustered in at Cairo in

[110] V. B. R., p. 108.

[111] A. G. O., O. R. D., Files of the 69th Connecticut Infantry.

[112] V. B. R., p. 56.

August of the same year, to date from enrollment. Thus while he may not have seen service during the Vicksburg campaign, his regiment was assigned to the same insalubrious region. There it participated in the following battles, with the casualties noted: Queen's Hill, Mississippi, February 4, 1864 (losses 3); Fort De Russy, Louisiana, March 14 (losses 9); Pleasant Hill, April 9 (losses 37); Masuria, May 16 (losses 2); Yellow Bayou, May 18 (losses 67); Tupels, Mississippi, July 14 (losses 11).[113]

Before the last engagement, Father Murphy tendered his resignation. It is dated July 4, 1864, and reads as follows:[114]

> I have the honor herewith to tender my immediate and unconditional resignation as chaplain of the 58th Reg't Ill. Inf. Vols. for the following reasons. 1st—Because my health has been considerably impaired on account of the sufferings and privations during the campaigns through Mississippi, Louisiana and Arkansas. 2nd—Because the exposure and hardship of sleeping on the ground and without tents have brought upon me Rheumatism, Military regulations forbidding the transportation of tents or any such equipage. 3rd—Because I cannot endure the intense and oppressive heat of this semi-tropical climate without exposing myself to immediate and perhaps instantaneous death. 4th—Because I have never been allowed to transport a tent in which I could perform my Religious exercises. 5th—When I entered the Army I left my parochial and individual business unsettled and honor and justice to my own character as well as the interests of my people necessarily demand my immediate return to my parish.

His honorable discharge followed on August 13.

NASH, REV. MICHAEL. Chaplain Nash and his regiment—the 6th New York Infantry—participated in

[113] V. B. R., p. 429.

[114] A. G. O., O. R. D., Files of the 58th Illinois Infantry.

fighting over a period of nearly two years, though not in the fields of chiefest strategic importance to the Union. The 6th was engaged with the forces in Florida in 1861-1862, and with those in Louisiana in 1863.

Father Nash was enrolled and mustered in on June 3, 1861, at Tompkinsville, Staten Island. Shortly thereafter the regiment was sent to the Florida front, where on October 9 it took part in the battle of Santa Rosa Island, losing 31 men. Two engagements at Fort Pickens followed, one on the 22d and 23d of November, 1861, and another on New Year's Day, 1862. The 6th lost one man in the Fort Pickens fighting; the record does not state in which engagement this happened. The regiment was moved to the Louisiana front in 1862, and on April 14 and 17 engaged at Irish Bend and Bayou Vermillion, respectively, suffering one casualty in each battle. On June 25th of the same year the regiment was mustered out of service.[115]

In a letter written on October 21, 1862, Colonel William Wilson, commandant of the 6th, stated the following of Father Nash:[116]

> I have the honor to report, that Rev. Michael Nash, the Chaplain of my Regiment is of the Roman Catholic religion, that he is a good man, satisfactory to all of my Regiment and to myself and that I consider him a most fit and proper man for his present position in my Regiment, in fact that I could not have one better suitable for said position.

O'BRIEN, REV. EDWARD. That the duties of chaplains during the Civil War were not exclusively spiritual has already been seen. The chaplain of the 17th Illinois Cavalry, Father Edward O'Brien, is credited with commendable reconstruction service between the ending of hostilities and the mustering out of his regiment.

This chaplain was enrolled at St. Charles, Illinois, on April 12th, 1864, and mustered in on May 2, as of the

[115] V. B. R., p. 88.

[116] A. G. O., O. R. D., Files of the 6th New York Infantry.

former date. After his regiment had participated in a few minor engagements, Father O'Brien was placed in charge of the sick and wounded in Jefferson City, Missouri, during the months of September and October, 1864. He is shown to have been on detached service from December 31, 1864, to August 31, 1865. He was appointed Superintendent of Refugees for the District of Rolla, Missouri, on January 7, 1865, and relieved from this duty on March 25, 1865. Four days later he was placed on special duty, in a capacity that cannot be ascertained. The records lead to the assumption that this duty was of a similar nature to the above, if not a resumption of the same task. As aforesaid, the records show him on detached duty until August 31. Apparently he was thereupon billeted as Superintendent of Refugees and Freedmen at Jefferson City, for on November 27, 1865, we find that he was relieved from that duty, and commended for faithfulness and energy in executing its requirements.[117] On December 1, 1865, he was honorably discharged, by reason of the reduction of his regiment under "Orders from Maj. Gen'l Pope".

Chaplain O'Brien participated in the battles of Huntsville, Missouri, July 24, 1864 (loss 1); Dripping Springs, August 15 (losses 1); and Columbia and Centralia, August 16 (losses 3).[118]

O'BRIEN, REV. NICHOLAS. There is no mention of Chaplain O'Brien found in the archives of the War Department of the United States; however, among the records of the Adjutant General's Office, State of Massachusetts, there is a record stating that Rev. Nicholas O'Brien was enrolled as chaplain of the 28th Massachusetts Infantry on January 7, 1862; but according to a notation on his commission, he never joined his regiment. A discharge was issued to him on May 5, 1862.[119]

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[117] A. G. O., O. R. D., Files of the 17th Illinois Cavalry. This chaplain's name does not appear in any Catholic directory.

[118] V. B. R., p. 403.

[119] Adjutant General's Office, State of Massachusetts, Files of the 28th Massachusetts Infantry.

O'HAGAN, REV. JOSEPH G., S. J. The record of Chaplain O'Hagan was one of the most interesting, and, incidentally, complete in its details, of any the volunteer regiments' rolls have preserved to us.

Father O'Hagan was mustered in as chaplain at Camp McLellan, D. C., October 9, 1861. He was attached to the 73d New York Infantry, a component of the 4th Excelsior Brigade and the 2d Fire Zouaves. Nothing is recorded of this regiment's participation in battle before April of the following year. The first battle of Bull Run had taught the North a dismaying lesson in discipline, and when General McClellan took over the Army of the Potomac about this time, he determined to put it on a true military footing.

It was sent into action at the time the Peninsular campaign began in decided earnest, and copiously lent its blood for the revival of Northern hopes. From the skirmish at Yorktown, through the bitter contest at Williamsburg, through the hazardous days on the Chickahominy, through the failure of expected and essential reinforcements, when the harassed Federals were floundering onward along both banks of that marshland stream, through the battle of Fair Oaks, where seven battles were hotly waged in the course of a single month, to the Confederate defeat at Malvern Hill which made an orderly retreat possible, the 73d did its part in demonstrating the mythical character of the cowardice Bull Run had inspired the South to attribute to the "Yankee" nature. In this fighting the 73d lost 119 men. The advance was by no means a uniformly triumphant one, nor was the retreat that became essential after Jackson's manœuvres. "Stonewall" Jackson had done double duty in cutting off Federal reinforcements and returning to reinforce the Confederates. The Federals faced annihilation. Victory shuttled between the two armies in the Fair Oaks battles, and two days before the Federal triumph at Malvern Hill, Father O'Hagan was taken prisoner. The records list him among the prisoners who were sick and wounded. The actual place of Father O'Hagan's capture was White Oaks, Savage Landing,

Virginia. He was confined for nearly three weeks at Richmond, and paroled on July 19, at City Point, Virginia.[120] Upon reaching his regiment, Father O'Hagan made the following application:[121]

> Having lost nearly everything necessary for my ministrations as Catholic Chaplain—also my wearing apparel and horse; during my three weeks' captivity in Richmond, I respectfully request a leave of absence for three weeks. I request three weeks as I have deposited with me a large sum of money belonging to our wounded soldiers now in the Northern hospitals, which I wish to restore to them in person.

When Father O'Hagan returned from this leave of absence the Zouaves were allotted to Pope's Army of Virginia. This division was formed to protect Washington, and as his means of doing this Pope undertook to attack the enemy relentlessly. The second battle of Bull Run resulted—a seeming Federal victory at first but in fact a severe defeat. At Bull Run itself the 73d lost but one man; but it had lost 34 three days previously, at Bristow Station.[122]

Subsequently the 73d lost eight men at Fredericksburg (December 13, 1862); twenty at Chancellorsville (May 3 and 4, 1863); one hundred and forty-nine during the three days' battle at Gettysburg (July 1-3, 1863); and six at Wapping Heights, Virginia (July 23, 1863). Father O'Hagan resigned two months later.

In forwarding the resignation, William R. Brewster, the Colonel commanding, submitted the following report:[123]

> Rev. Father O'Hagan has been chaplain for the 4th Excelsior for the past two years, and during that time has performed the duties of his office in a most faithful manner, enjoying the respect and

[120] V. B. R., p. 110.
[121] A. G. O., O. R. D., Files of the 73d New York Infantry.
[122] V. B. R., p. 110.
[123] A. G. O., O. R. D., Files of the 73d New York Infantry.

love of all.—The only grounds upon which I approve his resignation, are those mentioned by him. viz; that the superior of his church has ordered him to his College, and I am certain that Father O'Hagan only leaves the service from the most conscientious motives.

O'HIGGINS, REV. WILLIAM T. Father O'Higgins, of the 10th Ohio Infantry, was enrolled as chaplain on May 10, 1861, at Camp Dennison, Ohio, and mustered into service June 3, 1861, at Memphis, Tennessee. He was mustered out with Field and Staff on June 17, 1864, at Camp Dennison.

Chaplain O'Higgins was granted forty-eight hours' leave of absence on March 26, 1864, "to meet a messenger with commands from his ecclesiastical superiors at Cincinnati".[124]

Although the field of this regiment's activity was not one of which historians make much, it was one of sacrifice to the 10th Ohio. On September 10, 1861, they lost 61 men at Carnifax Ferry, Virginia; and at Chaplin Hills, Kentucky, they lost 178 men in battle on October 8, 1862. The engagement most notable historically in which they participated was the Battle of Chickamauga, Georgia, in which the Union forces sustained a crushing defeat, on September 21, 1863. In this battle the 10th escaped casualty. The commands of Sheridan and Thomas acquitted themselves with rare credit.[125]

QUINN, REV. THOMAS. The case of Chaplain Quinn presented one of those tangling problems whose course of unraveling stretched out for months and months. In the first instance, he appears with the 1st Rhode Island Infantry, State Militia, enrolled as assistant chaplain on April 17, 1861, at Providence, Rhode Island, for three months. He was mustered in May 2 at Washington, D. C., and joined for duty on that date.[126] After the first battle of Bull Run, where his regiment's losses numbered

[124] A. G. O., O. R. D., Files of the 10th Ohio Infantry.

[125] V. B. R., p. 292.

[126] A. G. O., O. R. D., Files of the 1st Rhode Island Infantry.

66, the record states that Chaplain Quinn was mustered out at Providence on August 2, 1861.[127]

Among the files of the 1st Regiment Rhode Island Light Artillery, there is a record stating that Chaplain Quinn joined this organization on November 12, 1861, at Providence and enlisted for three years. A Field and Staff Muster Roll dated October 31, 1861, states that he was transferred from the 3d Rhode Island Volunteers and had not received pay since August 15. A survey of the records of the 3d Regiment yields nothing to indicate that chaplain was a member of that organization. But the fact that Chaplain Quinn was on the pay rolls of the War Department since August 15 gave positive proof that he was with some branch of the service.

The War Department applied to the Pension Bureau to shed light on this case, and it was definitely established that Father Quinn was enrolled and mustered into service August 15, 1861, as chaplain of the 1st Rhode Island Light Artillery, and was honorably discharged on January 8, 1862, to take effect January 3. Ordinarily, it is true, the Pension Bureau receives from the Adjutant General's Office the military record of all applicants for pension.[128]

To epitomize the military career of Father Quinn, it is established that he was chaplain from April 17, 1861, until January 3, 1862, and served with the 1st Rhode Island Infantry (Militia) and the 1st Regiment Rhode Island Light Artillery. With the latter organization it seems that he spent most of his time at Camp Sprague, Washington, D. C.

RIZZO, REV. LEO. The 9th Connecticut Infantry, with which Father Mullen had been incapacitated in the Mississippi Valley campaign, was in 1864 engaged in Virginia. During the battles of Winchester (September 19), Fisher's Hill (September 22), and Cedar Creek (October 19), Father Leo Rizzo was chaplain of this regi-

[127] V. B. R., p. 51.

[128] A. G. O., O. R. D., Files of the 1st Regiment, Rhode Island Light Artillery.

ment. It lost one man during the first of these engagements, two during the second, and seventeen during the third.[129]

Father Rizzo was commissioned chaplain to take effect from July 24, 1864. After the battles above named, he was mustered out of service with the Field and Staff at New Haven, Connecticut, on October 26, 1864. Chaplain Rizzo was appointed and commissioned by Governor Buckingham of the State of Connecticut.[130]

SCULLY, REV. THOMAS. The chaplain of the 9th Massachusetts Infantry, Rev. Thomas Scully, was participant in the Peninsular campaign, and underwent an experience closely paralleling that of Father O'Hagan. Attending upon the same battles, he was captured about the same time, imprisoned in Richmond with the New York priest, and released with him on the same day at City Point.[131] However, after Antietam, he was incapacitated from continuing with the Army, as Father O'Hagan had done.

Chaplain Scully was forty years of age when he was enrolled and mustered into service on June 11, 1861, at Boston. He joined for duty April 15, but for some inexplicable reason, his muster-in roll could not become retroactive.

Upon his return from Richmond Father Scully made the following request:[132]

> I have the honor to make application for leave of absence for twenty days, in order to recruit my health which for some weeks before the late battles was very infirm, and greatly impaired by the recent hardship and my imprisonment in Richmond.

Presumably, the requested leave of absence was granted.

Thereafter, on August 30 and September 17, respective-

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[129] V. B. R., p. 56.

[130] A. G. O., O. R. D., Files of the 9th Connecticut Infantry.

[131] Exchange Records, vol. I, p. 333.

[132] A. G. O., O. R. D., Files of the 9th Massachusetts Infantry.

ly, the 9th Massachusetts fought without casualty at the second battle of Bull Run and Antietam.[133]

Father Scully's honorable discharge was issued December 4, 1862, to date from October 31.

The following is a résumé of the battles and losses of the 9th Massachusetts during Father Scully's service as chaplain: Yorktown, April 4 to May 3, 1862 (losses 2); Hanover Court House, May 27 (losses 8); Mechanicsville, June 26 (losses 1); Gaines Mills, June 27 (losses 230); Malvern Hill, July 1 (losses 92); Bull Run, August 30; Antietam, September 17.

TALADRID, REV. DAMASO. After the re-conquest of the territory of New Mexico by the Federals, early in the war, several regiments were formed to fight for the Union. Father Damaso Taladrid was chaplain of one of these—the 1st New Mexico Infantry. He was appointed by the territorial Governor on July 27, 1861, and reported for duty the following month at Fort Union, New Mexico.[134] The regiment was organized to serve three years; it may or may not have engaged on February 21, 1862, in the battle of Junado del Munto. At any rate, part of its personnel was mustered out in May of that year, and the remainder consolidated with parts of three other regiments to form the 1st New Mexico Cavalry. Father Taladrid's commission with the cavalry regiment is dated as of the time of his muster into the 1st Infantry. We may take this to mean that to determine his length of service for pension or other purposes, he was to be credited with a continuous enlistment from the time he first joined the service; or it could mean, such is the uncertain character of the records of both regiments, that, though originally designated for the infantry, he actually served with the cavalry from the first.[135] We are safe in stating, *obiter*, that the 1st Cavalry did take part in the battle mentioned above, losing seven men. After the consolidation, we find Chaplain Taladrid's

[133] V. B. R., p. 33.

[134] A. G. O., O. R. D., Files of the 1st New Mexico Infantry.

[135] A. G. O., O. R. D., Files of the 1st New Mexico Cavalry.

movements pretty scrupulously accounted for. The Field and Staff record marks him "present" from June to September, 1862; from October following to December, "present with regiment at Fort Stanton, New Mexico"; January to March, 1863, "present on duty as Chaplain with Regiment"; conflictingly, in April, "absent on D. S. (detached service) at Fort Stanton, New Mexico, since February 11, 1863"; and May, 1863, "present on duty with Regiment en route to the Navajo expedition".

Father Taladrid was by birth a Spaniard, and but slightly learned in the intricacies of English. That Army regulations should forbid the simple Mexican pastime of *monte* apparently never struck him as a possibility. He was observed in the pursuit of whatever chances this game may have offered, and the following correspondence ensued. The first document proceeds from the commandant of Fort Stanton, Major Joseph Smith, and is directed to Captain Benjamin Cutler, Assistant Adjutant General at Santa Fé:[136]

> Enclosed herewith you will please find charge and specification prefered by me against D Taladrid Chaplain 1st N. M. Vols. I would like to say to the General commanding that I am satisfied that the chaplain was not aware that he was committing any offense either Civil or Military for as it is their Custom to bet and play at Monte, any place that they find a game he thought that he was at liberty in this instance. He is a Mexican and says that this is the Custom of the Country and that he was not aware that he was committing any Military offense.
>
> On hearing of the case I could do Nothing else as commanding officer of this post but to put him under arrest and Submit the matter to Headquarters—Now if the General will allow me I will withdraw the Charges not that they cannot be Sustained by Evidence but to Save an officer from the disgrace of a

[136] May 5, 1863 (O. R. D., 1st New Mexico Cavalry). This letter was called to the attention of Bishop Lamy, according to instructions on folded side of document.

Court Martial and probably dismissal from the service.

The above letter was dispatched on May 5, 1863, and thirteen days lated Captain Cutler made the following reply:[137]

> If Major Smith Desires to do so, he can make application for the withdrawal of these charges. An admonition from the Bishop will doubtless prevent a recurrence of the bad conduct here alleged against Mr. Taladrid.

Accordingly, Major Smith made application, and the charges were withdrawn on May 28. That should have settled the episode, but Father Taladrid believed in the principle of the last word, and since he was the defendant in the case, he wrote a letter in Spanish, had it translated into English, and directed both documents to the attention of Captain Cutler. They are dated at Santa Fé, June 12, 1863. The English version reads as follows:[138]

> Yesterday Major Wallin, Insp. Gl. called on me and requests me to sign a duplicate document containing a formal pledge "in future not to drink any spiritous licors nor play at cards", telling me at the same time that he was acting under orders from the Dept. Commander.
>
> Sir! the communication which Major Wallin, in the name of the Dept. Commander made to me, greatly surprised me, thinking this matter already concluded. Allow me therefore to make you a few remarks, to come to a clear understanding about this business. The first part of the document, which I am required to sign, is false and calumnious, and I defy anybody to prove, that he has ever seen *me* under the influence of licor, that whilst I had the honor of belonging to the U. S. Army. The second part, I cannot deny, as I have somewhat indulged

[137] May 18, 1863.

[138] A. G. O., O. R. D., Files of the 1st New Mexico Cavalry.

in it. But this Conduct, which I had adopted, originated from causes, which herein I cannot mention, but I frankly acknowledge the fact; I recognize the fault and do not deny it. It is far from me, hypocritically to try to justify myself: But Sir! Permit me to state, that when I was elected and appointed chaplain of the 1st N. M. Vols; I contemplated no ambitious intrigues, I only obeyed my eclesiastic Prelate and complied with the wishes of my numerous friends to go with them to the battlefield and help the brave and Patriotic defenders of the Union. When I accepted this difficult and dangerous position, I was not induced by the base interest of money, but only by patriotism and affection towards the sacred cause of the Union, and the liberty of man oppressed by selfish sectionists. My services in the Regiment are public and well known, not only to my companions, but to the whole Territory and speak for themselves, whilst perhaps some of my obscure enemies cherished in their hearts ideas threacherous to the cause of the Union, and with pleasure and joy would have greeted the fraticidal rebel flag if for a short time it could have been hoisted in this Territory. When I came from Fort Stanton, the Commanding General had the kindness of magnanimously communicating to me; that the charges prefered against me by Major Smith, in regard to character, were withdrawn, that the Bishop was charged with regulating the affair, which I think was done, pledging my word to my Prelate to modify my Conduct. I was also directed to call on Major Wallin, notify him of the matter and offer him my thanks, which I did that same day. If these sincere manifestations are not yet sufficient, why conduct this business so from the beginning? You well doubtlessly comprehend my being surprised at the Dept. Commanders communication from yesterday, which I received through Major Wallin. I think I have given no occasions of complaint since I am in the Capital. If I have, I am not aware of it.

Sir, the document which I am required to sign, is of a nature that I cannot do it, I conceive it to be offensive to the dignity of my character and the right of my liberty, which I do not believe in having forfeited by belonging to the Army of the U. S., nor was I aware, that such things were ever required of an officer or a gentleman. The man who cannot govern himself or correct himself of any fault he commits, from the impulse of his own feelings, will be little better by signing ever so many documents and pledges. This is my opinion in regard to this matter.

Do not believe Sir! that my refusal to comply with the wishes of the General commanding the Dept. is caused from any bad disposition, or by personal dislike. No Sir! it is caused by my own conviction and experience.

If it is thought or commenced to be doubted, that I am no longer usefull or competent for the service, I would very gratefully receive the slightest insinuation of it, and immediately present my resignation to return to the full enjoyment of my right as a citizen, a circumstance, which perhaps, only with one exception, may not be found among the other foreign Priests, who live in this Territory. I assure you that these are my sentiments, and beg you to manifest to the General Commanding, that never shall I be found wanting, should ever again the enemy invade this Territory, but will be ready physically and morally to assist in the tryumph of that idea, which is the emblem of liberty and Union, because it is the tryumph of the right of man over despotism, of civilization over barbarism.

A communication addressed to General Carleton by Father Taladrid's superior, Bishop Lamy, is cited as a rather curious contribution to our literature respecting this Bishop and Father Taladrid, who have both recently come into a posthumous renown in the pages of Willa Cather's *Death Comes for the Archbishop.* Bishop

Lamy's letter is dated February 21, 1863, and proceeds as follows:[139]

> You will do me a great Favor if you have the kindness to give an order to the paymaster to keep the sum of one hundred and thirty six Dollars ($136) out of payment of padre Dr. Damaso Taladrid, Chaplain of the 1st Regt. N. M. V. padre Taladrid owes me this amount for Silver Chalice, Vestments and other articles used in Church service.
>
> With this note I have the honor to send you the nomination of padre Dr. Damaso Taladrid and also a letter and a small book for him.

On the folded-side of this document, the annotation made by General Carleton indicates that any uneasiness his Lordship may have felt was speedily assuaged:

> This official copy of a letter from Bishop Lamy, is respectfully referred to Major John A Whitall U S A Chief Paymaster present, who will see that the amount due the Bishop is retained from the pay of the Chaplain of the 1st N. Mexico Volunteers when he is next paid.

Father Taladrid was present with his regiment at the following battles: Warm Springs, New Mexico, June 16, 1863; Rio Hondo, July 18 (losses 5); and Conchus Springs, July 22 (losses 5).[140]

From the Chaplain's letter of resignation, no indication is given of his disaffection or disapproval of Colonel Carson's plan of extermination against the Navajo Indians. It reads:[141]

> The Adj. Gen. Fort Defiance, N. Mex.
> Hdqt. Dept. New Mex. July 21, 1863.
> Santa Fe N. M.
>
> Sir—I have the honor to tender herewith through you to the Governor of the Territory of New Mexico my resignation of the commission which I hold

[139] *Ibid.*

[140] V. B. R., p. 531.

[141] A. G. O., O. R. D., Files of 1st N. M. Cavalry.

as Chaplain of the 1st N. M. Volunteers. I am compelled to take this step on account of ill health—my age and bodily infirmities are such that I cannot bear the many exposures incident to the active service upon which my Regiment is now employed, and at the same time perform my official duties either with justice to the Government or credit to myself.

Willa Cather, in *Death Comes for the Archbishop,* draws an historically accurate presentation of "Kit" Carson's character, and of Bishop Lamy's opposition to his campaign to wipe out the Navajo nation. On this question Father Taladrid also shared the Bishop's sentiments, as the following letter suggests, being a communication to General Carleton from Colonel Carson himself:[142]

I send by Captain Cutler the official report of the operations of my command since leaving Los Lunas, but in it have made no mention of the women and children captured by the Utes (4 women and 17 children). It is expected by the Utes, and has, I believe, been customary, to allow them to keep the women and children and the property captured by them for their own use and benefit, and as there is no other way to sufficiently recompense these Indians for their invaluable services, and as a means of insuring their continued zeal and activity, I ask it as a favor that they may be permitted to retain all that they may capture. I make this request the more readily as I all [*sic*] satisfied that the future of the captives disposed of in this manner would be much better than if sent even to the Bosque Redondo. As a general thing, the Utes dispose of their captives to Mexican families, where they are fed and taken care of, and thus cease to require any further attention on the part of the Government. Besides this, their being distributed as servants through the Territory causes them to lose that collectiveness of interest as a tribe

[142] *War of the Rebellion, Official Records, op. cit.,* Series I, vol. XXVI, p. 234.

which they will retain if kept together at any one place. Will you please let me know your views on this matter as soon as possible, that I may govern my conduct accordingly?

The Utes more than come up to the expectations I had formed of their efficiency as spies, nor can any small straggling parties of Navajos hope to escape them. I trust you will grant me permission to send Captain Pfeiffer to their villages to employ some more of them. I am very badly off for guides. . . . . I forwarded with Captain Cutler the resignations of Chaplain Taladrid and Captain McCabe, and request that you will accept them, as well as all others which I may forward you, as I do not wish to have any officer in my command who is not contented or willing to put up with as much inconvenience and privations for the success of the expedition as I undergo myself. . . .

And so Chaplain Taladrid's resignation was taken up at headquarters and accepted on August 17, 1863; and thus he passed out of the Army, after a most colorful career. As regards his estimate and worth to his organization, we will let Colonel Carson himself testify:[143]

As regards the abilities , qualifications and character of Chaplain Taladrid I consider him, as I heretofore reported, eminently qualified for his position in this Regiment, as he has the esteem and confidence of all in it, and not only has shown himself always willing and capable to perform his own peculiar duties, but beyond that, he has and still does exert a great influence for the good discipline and instruction of the Regiment—

I do not think another person in the Territory can be found who would do as well as the present incumbent.

TISSOT, REV. PETER, S. J. The Jesuit chaplain of the 37th New York Infantry experienced all the hard-

[143] Headquarters, 1st Reg. N. M. Vols.; Los Luna, Sept. 10, 1862. (A. G. O., O. R. D.)

ships to which his office, during the war, was peculiarly subject.[144]

The first record we have of this chaplain, Father Peter Tissot, is the Field and Staff muster roll for July and August, 1861, which informs us that, "mustered in August 1st through an oversight", he had never been paid, although he had actually commenced the exercise of his duties on May 25.

His regiment was assigned to the Army of the Potomac, then under training to prevent recurrence of the first Bull Run experience.

In November, 1861, he requested four weeks' leave of absence of General McClellan, due to illness, the nature of which was certified to be an attack of debility from chronic sub-acute gastritis.

He returned to his regiment and participated in the Peninsular campaign, being made prisoner, probably on June 29, 1862, the last day of the Fair Oaks battles, where the Confederates took thousands of prisoners, or on July 1 at Malvern Hill.

Father Tissot was released by the Confederates at City Point on July 19, whence he reported at Camp Parole, Maryland. His prison record shows that he was either sick or wounded.[145] On August 3 he requested eight days' leave of absence of Major McKiever, Assistant Adjutant General of the Army of Virginia, as Pope's division, to which Father Tissot's regiment was now assigned, was called. His object was to procure vestments to replace those that had been destroyed in the movement before Richmond. The presumption is that the leave was granted. When it expired, Pope's offensive was under way. The 37th lost 34 men at Bristow Station on August 27, but were less unfortunate at the second battle of Bull Run, losing only one man (August 20, 1862). They came unscathed out of a skirmish at Chantilly, Virginia, on September 1st.[146]

[144] A. G. O., O. R. D., Files of the 37th New York Infantry.

[145] Records of Exchange, vol. I, p. 388.

[146] V. R. B., p. 110.

Father Tissot took part with his regiment at Fredericksburg on December 13, 1862, where the 37th lost eight men.[147] On December 21 the chaplain was certified by the regimental surgeon to be incapacitated for twenty days on account of chronic derangement of stomach, liver and bowels.[148]

The next record we have of Father Tissot is that on April 9, 1863, he requested leave of absence in order to procure the articles necessary for Divine service.[149] On May 3 and 4, 1863, he was present with his regiment at the battle of Chancellorsville. The 37th lost 20 men during two days' fighting.[150] On May 16, at Camp Sickles, Chaplain Tissot requested 28 hours' leave to visit wounded soldiers and remit to them money entrusted before the battle of Chancellorsville. On June 22 of that year he was mustered out at New York City.[151]

WILLETT, REV. THOMAS (OUELLETT), S. J. Under Father Mooney's record it has been noted that the so-called "Fighting Irish" regiment of New York, the 69th Infantry, was mustered into the Federal service for three months, shortly after the Civil War broke out. The law being amended to permit a three-year call by the President, the 69th was again mustered in during the fall of 1861, this time for three years. On November 10, Father Thomas Willett reported at Fort Schuyler and was enrolled as chaplain.[152]

In 1862 Father Willett and the regiment saw duty in the Peninsular campaign, and also at Antietam and Fredericksburg. During these battles they lost 370 men, considerably more than one-third of their entire contingent. It may be noted that Father Willett, although a man of 41 at the time of his enlistment, does not appear to have

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[147] *Ibid.*

[148] A. G. O., O. R. D., Files of the 37th New York Infantry.

[149] *Ibid.*

[150] V. B. R., p. 110.

[151] A. G. O., O. R. D., Files of the 37th New York Infantry.

[152] A. G. O., O. R. D., Files of the 69th New York Infantry.

been affected in health as a result of the Peninsular campaign, fought as it was along the febrous swamps of the Chickahominy.

On December 25, 1862, Father Willett sought and obtained his discharge from the 69th, in order to enter the hospital service in the Department of North Carolina. His record in that capacity will be found in this dissertation under Hospital Chaplains.[153]

His resignation from the 69th had been occasioned by the reduction in the numbers of that regiment in battle, so that it no longer needed his services. When he was recalled in January, 1864, by his superiors in New York, from the Department of North Carolina, he found his old regiment in the process of re-organization. He was unanimously re-elected chaplain, and rejoined the 69th on February 14th. A delay in his official muster-in by the Army authorities brought about the following correspondence. The letter immediately following was sent to the Adjutant General by James E. McGee, the Lieutenant-Colonel commanding the 69th Regiment, and reads:[154]

> I have the honor respectfully to request a special order may be issued by the Hon. Secretary of War for the muster in as chaplain of the 69th N. Y. Vols of the Rev. Thomas Willett to date from the 14th day of February 1864 for the following reasons:
>
> 1st. The Rev. T. Willett was Chaplain of this Reg't from its organization in 1861, until Dec. 1862 when he resigned on account of the Regiment having been so reduced in numbers by losses in battle as no longer to need his services. He was transferred to the Department of North Carolina and remained there till January 1864 when he resigned, his profession Services being required in New York.
>
> 2nd. The Regiment having reenlisted for three additional years and having been reorganized and

[153] Records of Appointments, Hospital Chaplains, p. 163.

[154] A. G. O., O. R. D., Files of the 69th New York Infantry.

augmented by some five hundred recruits, the Rev.d Thomas Willett was unanimously elected Chaplain on the 14th day of February 1864. And he has since served with it in field without being absent a single day. The original record of his election was by me filed in the office of the adjt General of the State of New York, as well as a certificate signed by five clergymen as to his ordination and good standing (a copy of which is here unto annexed).

3rd. This Regiment has within the last month received 300 recruits, and now numbers, Present and absent nearly nine hundred enlisted men, so that a chaplain is is [*sic*] absolutely necessary, and as the Rev.d Mr. Willett has worked so faithfully and so zealously with it, every officer and man is most desirous that he should be mustered in from Feb. 14, 1864.

The following certificates were appended to the above letter:

We the undersigned ordained clergymen of the Roman Catholic Church hereby certify that we are personally acquainted with the Rev. Thomas Willett S. J. (at present serving as Chaplain in the 69th N. Y. Vols) and that he is a regular ordained minister of the Roman Catholic Church in good standing.

Signed: A. J. Tellier, S. J., P. Tissot, S. J., A. F. Monroe, S. J., M. Ronayni, S. J., E. Donset, S. J.

(A true copy original on file in Albany N Y Jas. E. M'Gee Lt. Col 69th N. Y. Vol).

Headquarters 69th N. Y. Vols.

Sept. 13, 1864

I hereby certify that the Rev.d Thomas Willett has been regularly elected chaplain of this regiment, and that he has been present for duty with this regiment since the (14th) fourteenth day of February 1864, awaiting muster.

John Smith—Capt. Commanding 69th N. Y. Vols.

As a result of these urgent representations Chaplain

Willett was officially mustered in on September 26, 1864, as of May 1st.

Father Willett was mustered out with the regiment near Alexandria, Virginia, on June 30, 1865. The order for this discharge bears the notation that three months' back pay was due the chaplain at the time.

From the time of his second enlistment with the 69th New York Infantry, Father Willett was present at the following engagements, which resulted in the casualties noted in the ranks of this regiment: Wilderness, May 5 to 7, 1864 (losses 41); Spottsylvania, May 10 (losses 13); May 11 to 21 (losses 92); North Anna, May 23 to 26 (losses none); Talopatomy, May 30 (losses 143); Cold Harbor, June 1 to 2; Petersburg, June 16, 1864 to April 2, 1865 (losses 191); Deep Bottom, July 26, August 14 (losses 4); Reams Station, August 25 (losses 36); Sailors Creek, April 6, 1865 (losses 3); Farmville, April 7 (losses 1).[155]

Chaplain Willett was with the 69th at the surrender of Lee at Appomatox Court House, April 9, 1865.

## Confederate Chaplains

This treatise on Confederate chaplains has been included to record the activities of Catholic priests under every circumstance, not merely confining them to the United States Army.

BANNON, REV. JOHN. This St. Louis pastor, counter to the feeling in the city of his ministry, was profoundly in sympathy with the Southern cause. He had before hostilities commenced been a chaplain in the Missouri militia. That organization was disbanded in May, 1861, by the Federal government. Later, when General Price commenced recruiting volunteers for the Confederacy, many of Father Bannon's parishioners enlisted. In January, 1862, Father Bannon also joined General Price. He served continuously without remuneration for a year, when the Bishop of Mobile enlisted the influence of Sec-

[155] Volunteer Battle Register, p. 109.

retary Mallory, of the Confederate Navy, in Father Bannon's behalf. Following is Bishop Quinlan's letter:[156]

> Thanking you sincerely for your many kindnesses hithertofore bestowed at my request, I wish a Happy New Year to yourself and family, and success and prosperity in the administration of your Department, for another twelvemonth, indeed "ad multos annos".
>
> With this preliminary, there is a little matter I would urge on your consideration, affecting a large body of brave Catholics, and indirectly, as far as it goes, the welfare of the Confederacy itself: it is, in reference to Revd. John Bannon of St. Louis. This Revd. Gentleman was chaplain (state) to the Missouri State Guard, when, in May 1861, it was dispersed at Camp Jackson, by the Federal Government. Father Bannon's devotion to our cause was so well known at the time, in St. Louis, that it earned for him at the hands of the Lincoln officials much persecution and in one instance nearly cost him his life. When Genl Price was gathering his noble band of patriots, more young men (Catholics) from St. Louis left that city to join him: tho' separated from family and home, they murmured not, but fought on unflinchingly for the cause of the South. There was one thing, however, they cannot do without—the ministration of a Catholic Chaplain. They wrote to Father Bannon of St. Louis, for assistance; and he with a noble sacrifice of all self interest, relinquishes his comfortable position as Pastor of St. John's Church, in that city, and thro many dangers, succeeded in reaching Price's army, which he has followed faithfully ever since January 1862. Ever since then he has been the faithful Apostle to about 1,800 Catholic Missourians of Price's army; has been in

[156] A. G. O., O. R. D., 201; Confederate Archives; General Index—General and Staff Officers, Corps, Divisions, Brigade Staffs, Non-Com. Staffs and Bands, Enlisted Men, Staff Departments, Confederate States of America.

the trying conflicts of Elkhorn, Farmington, and Corinth, and is yet with the same army. During all this time, he has not received a cent of the public money. He started from St. Louis with 300 hundred dollars *in gold* and has been serving since without any remuneration, depending entirely on the courtesy and generosity of the officers. He is now without funds, 1000 dollars in debt—and unable any longer, unless assisted, to continue his services in the army. I would most earnestly request, then, Hon. and dear Sir, that you would procure for him a chaplaincy, with orders to report to Major Genl Price, and if possible, to have it antedated so as to report his services from Jan. 1862 to the present. I know it does not belong to your Department, but I am sure, for the sake of our cause, and the spiritual interest of so many men you will do all you can to obtain the granting of this request. Thanking you again and again for your kindness, and lately that shown to Major Barry of Western Virginia, I am Hon. and dear Sir Yours most faithfully, etc.

P. S. If granted, let the Commission of Father Bannon be directed to me, for him.

On the folded side of the letter is a notation made by Secretary of War Seddon:

Adj. G. Grant the application and let me at your liesure have the commn to forward J. A. S.

This notation is without date, but the register shows that Father Bannon's appointment as a chaplain under command of General Price was issued on February 12, 1863, to date from the 30th of the previous month. Father Bannon accepted the commission on March 13.[157]

On September 3, 1863, this chaplain was released from the Army for an assignment to the Secretary of State by the following order:[158]

Adj. G. Relieve the Revd Jno Bannon from his

[157] A. G. O., Confederate Archives, Chapter I, File no. 86, p. 378.

[158] General Index, Bannon.

present assignment and detail him for Special Service under the direction of the Hon Secy of State —Read the orders to the Hon. Wm Bergamer Secy
3 Sept 63 J. A. Seddon Sec. of War.

Father Bannon was thereupon appointed Confederate Commissioner to Ireland.[159]

BARBER, REV. SAMUEL B., S. J. Father Barber, who had been a professor at Georgetown College and President of Gonzaga College, Washington, D. C., was appointed chaplain of the 47th Virginia Regiment on April 5, 1864, by order of the Secretary of War, J. A. Seddon, at the request of Colonel Mayo, commanding the 47th. Records conflict as to the time from which his commission was to date—whether from March, 1864, or April, 1864. Acceptance of the commission was given on May 3, 1864.[160]

He was reported present with Heth's Division, 3d Corps, Army of Northern Virginia, on September 30, 1864, near Petersburg.[161] A report of the 30th of the following month showed him present with Colonel Mayo.[162]

The muster roll for June 30, to December 31, 1864, indicates his station at Orange Court House, but does not state whether the chaplain was present or absent.[163]

He is included among the parole of the prisoners of war belonging to Ewell's Corps, Army of Northern Virginia, surrendering with Lee at Appomatox on April 9th.[164]

He is mentioned on the list of prisoners of war, dated April 11, 1865, with the following remarks: "Wearing

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[159] *Catholic Historical Review*, n. s. III, p. 119.

[160] Confederate Archives, ch. I; File no. 93, p. 262; File no. 92, p. 321; File no. 78, p. 372.

[161] Inspection Report P, no. 24, Inclosure 16, Heth's Division, 3 Corps, Army of Northern Virginia; Inclosure 19, Archer's and Walker's Brigades, Heth's Division.

[162] Inspection Report P, no. 31, Inclosure 24.

[163] Confederate Archives, ch. I, File no. 96, p. 228; Inspection Report P, no. 31, Inclosure 22; no. 38, Inclosure 3; no. 37, Inclosure 18.

[164] Parole of Prisoners of War—roll no. 435.

apparel. Gum Cloth, Shawl and Haversack and Books Horse Equipments".[165]

The statement of Mr. John Gilmary Shea, to the effect that Father Barber died at St. Thomas Manor on February 23, 1864, is an erroneous one, as the above records show.

BLIEMEL, REV. EMMERAN, O.S.B. Father Bliemel was a member of the Benedictine community of St. Vincent's Archabbey, Beatty, Pennsylvania, and being engaged in the State of Tennessee when the war broke out, decided to apply for a chaplaincy in the Southern Army.[166]

The credentials below were presented to Colonel William Grace, commanding the 10th Tennessee Regiment:[167]

> Nashville Cathedral, Oct. 6, 1863
>
> The Bearer Rev.d Emmeran Bliemel is a zealous and worthy priest of our diocese in good standing and with full faculties he goes for a time to Humphries County to take the place of Father Orango it may be necessary for him to pass beyond that point or even to go out of Tennessee, in which I can recommend him to such ecclesiastical Authorities as he may meet with as a Missionary worthy of their support and confidence. H. V. Broune V.G. and Rector.
>
> We certify the authenticity of the above signature and give the Reverend Emmeran Bliemel faculties to act as Chaplain in the Confederate Army in all the places subject to our spiritual Jurisdiction. Savannah, Nov. 1, 1863. Augustin Verot, Bishop of Savannah.

The officers and men of Colonel Grace's regiment thereupon nominated the Benedictine for chaplain.[168]

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[165] List of Prisoners of War, no. 361.

[166] Archives of St. Vincent's Archabbey, Latrobe, Pa.

[167] General Index. These documents are certified to be true copies of letters sent by Father Bannon and the Bishop of Savannah by Col. Grace and Lieutenant Seymour.

[168] January 16, 1864; General Index.

The Secretary of War forwarded the commission on February 20, 1864, to date from the 10th of that month, and it was accepted on March 3, 1864.[169]

The inspection record shows Father Bliemel to have been in the field near Atlanta on August 18, 1864.[170]

On August 31 or September 1, this chaplain was killed at the battle of Jonesborough, while hearing the confession of a dying soldier. His remains were transferred to the cemetery of St. Mary's Parish, Tuscumbia, Alabama, where a monument marks his grave.[171]

BROWN, REV. HENRY V. (BROUNE). This priest was Father Bliemel's predecessor as chaplain of the 10th Tennessee. He was appointed by the then Acting Secretary of War, on November 26, 1861, the commission being delivered by General Albert Sidney Johnston.[172]

The correspondence that took place between Colonel Grace, the Adjutant General and the Secretary of War upon Father Bliemel's nomination to the chaplaincy is more pertinent to the disappearance of Father Brown. In answer to the query "what has become of Mr. Brown?" Colonel Grace replied that the "Rev. Father H. V. Brown was Chaplain while the regt. was at Fort Henry.—but left on furlough before that fort fell into the hands of the enemy, and has not since returned to the regt. He is now Vicar General of the Diocese of Nashville".[173]

And so the Chaplain's name was formally dropped from the rolls on February 11, 1864.

CARIUS, REV. ANTHONY. A certain Reverend B. S. Dunn had been on the files of the Adjutant General as chaplain of the 1st Louisiana Infantry. Actually this clergyman had not officiated with the regiment, accord-

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[169] Confederate Archives, ch. I, File no. 93, p. 262.

[170] Inspection Report H, no. 14, Inclosure 15; Confederate Archives, ch. I, no. 96, p. 168; no. 92, p. 137.

[171] Archives of St. Vincent's Archabbey.

[172] Conf. Arch., ch. I, File no. 96, p. 168; no. 92, p. 63; no. 86, p. 368.

[173] General Index, Bliemel.

ing to its commander, Colonel Strawbridge, for at least two years preceding May, 1863, nor was the Colonel apprised of any appointment of him as chaplain. Father Anthony Carius had undertaken the duties of chaplain with the regiment from March 1st of that year, and the following month Colonel Strawbridge wrote to the Adjutant General asking this priest's appointment. The letter is addressed from headquarters at Tullahoma, April 16, 1863, and proceeds:

> General: The Rev. Anthony Carius has been acting for some time as Chaplain of this Regiment at this Post and of the army generally and cheerfully bear witness of his efficiency and zeal attested otherwise in the good he has done among us. Though there are several thousand Catholics in the army yet they are without a regular Chaplain. I most respectfully recommend the appointment of the Rev. A. Carius to this position of Chaplain either of this regiment or to the army, to date back if possible to the first of March last, at which time he was officiating among us.[174]

The appointment was deferred, pending the establishment of Dunn's case. It was determined at length that the clergyman had been sent abroad to purchase arms.[175] Thereupon Father Carius' commission was issued. It was delivered to General Braxton Bragg by Secretary of War Seddon on June 20, 1863, to date from March 1st, as Colonel Strawbridge had requested.[176]

No information has been discovered as to the duration of Father Carius' service.

COYLE, REV. PATRICK F. The appointment of this chaplain, in the State of Florida, was negotiated prior to the establishment of the Confederacy at Richmond under Jefferson Davis. His commission was delivered

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[174] General Index, Carius.

[175] First Enclosure, S, 1138, June 1, 1863.

[176] Conf. Arch., ch. I, File no. 86, p. 380; no. 76, p. 322; no. 96, p. 79; no. 84, p. 375.

from Montgomery, the first Confederate capital, by the Secretary of the Navy and the Secretary of War on May 21, 1861.[177] He accepted the appointment on May 27, 1861, at which time General Bragg issued the following order:[178]

> The Reverend Patrick Coyle having received the appointment of Chaplain from the War Department, Montgomery, and having reported at these Head Quarters, is assigned to duty with the Third Brigade and will report to Colonel A. H. Gladdern, Commanding.

On August 3, 1861, Chaplain Coyle was granted seven days leave of absence by General Bragg, and on December 27, 1861, he was granted leave for eight days.[179] Father Coyle resigned his chaplaincy on January 14, 1862.[180]

CROGHAN, REV. C. J. A vacancy arose in the post chaplaincy at Montgomery White Sulphur Springs, Virginia, because of the incapacitation by illness of its occupant, Father Laurence J. O'Connell. The Assistant Secretary of War, Mr. J. A. Campbell, accordingly issued an order appointing Father C. J. Croghan to the vacancy:[181]

> Appoint Revd. C. J. Croghan Chaplain and assign for duty at Montgomery White Sulphur Springs in place of Rev. L P O'Connel., who is relieved for duty.
>
> By order of Secy of War.

A report of the officers on duty at Montgomery Springs on January 26, 1865, shows Father Croghan still serving in the capacity of chaplain, with the remark that he was on leave of absence since January 8, 1865. Singularly, this report, while attesting to his appointment and

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[177] Conf. Arch., ch. I, File no. 86, p. 365.

[178] Special Orders no. 71, Headquarters Troops of Confederate States, near Pensacola, Florida, May 27, 1861.

[179] Special Orders, no. 181, Army of Pensacola; Special Orders no. 317.

[180] Conf. Arch., ch. I, File no. 86, p. 365.

[181] Appointment File, Secretary of War, April 25, 1863.

assignment by the Secretary of War, indicated that the dates, which we have here set down, were unknown to the staff at this post.[182]

Father Croghan died at Charleston, South Carolina, on August 3, 1880, at the age of 58.[183]

CUNNINGHAM, REV. JAMES T. This priest was appointed on December 5, 1863, by Secretary of War Seddon, to take rank as of December 2, as chaplain of the 3d Mississippi Regiment Infantry. The commission was delivered at Enterprise, Mississippi, and accepted on August 14, 1864.[184]

Father Cunningham was reported on the field near Phillips Mills on September 24, 1864, and is mentioned in the inspection report of Featherston's Brigade, dated Cross Anchor, Georgia, September 22, 1864.[185]

The records do not reveal the circumstances under which Father Cunningham's chaplaincy terminated.

DE CHAIGNON, REV. A. Of this chaplain we know only that a commission with the 18th Louisiana Regiment was issued to him on February 2, 1862; and that he was present, according to the muster roll of the Field and Staff, in July and August, 1862.[186]

DICHARRY, REV. P. F. It has been noted in our investigation of the Union chaplains that official appointment sometimes followed a considerable period of service. One might reasonably expect this to be equally true in the Confederate forces, and it was. Father Dicharry was apparently in that position, as the letter of his colonel to the Adjutant General indicates:[187]

Head Quarters 3rd La. Infantry
Corinth, Miss. May 25, 1862

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[182] Inspection Report C. no. 57, Inclosure 1; Conf. Arch., ch. I, File no. 86, p. 380.

[183] *Catholic Directory*, 1881, p. 46.

[184] Conf. Arch., ch. I, no. 86, p. 383; no. 75, p. 434; no. 96, p. 96.

[185] Inspection Report H. no. 20, Inclosure 19; no. 20, Inclosure 14.

[186] General Index, De Chaignon.

[187] *Ibid.*, Dicharry.

> Gen'l I have the honor to recommend Revd Master P. F. Dicharry, Catholic Priest as Chaplain for this Regiment — He has served during the past 12 months in that capacity and discharged his duties faithfully, and satisfactorily.
>
> I am Genl with respect your obd Sevt. Frank Armstrong.

There are two cards in the files of the Field and Staff Officers of the Confederacy, one of which is based on the above letter. This card indicates that Father Dicharry was appointed by the Secretary of War on June 24, 1862, to take rank from the first of that month. The commission was delivered to General Beauregard, and accepted on the 12th of the succeeding month.[188]

However a separate card in the same file says:

> "rank Chaplain; corps—3 Regt. La. Vols; El. or app'd: May 17, 61; acceptd: May 17, 61; com. Issued: May 17, 61; to rank May 17, 61; com. expires May 17, 1866".

Another reference makes his record further indistinct and obscure in so far as he is classified as a prisoner in March, 1862.[189]

The two commissions seem to indicate that Father Dicharry served from May 17, 1861 to June 24, 1862, in the capacity of State chaplain; and from June to August, 1862, as a chaplain of the Confederacy.[190]

Chaplain Dicharry's recall by the Bishop occasioned his resignation during the same month when he ostensibly accepted his commission:[191]

> I have the honor to most respectfully tender my resignation as Chaplain of the 3d Regt. La. Inft for the following reasons, viz: the Right Rev. Bishop Natchitoches having called me back, and needing my services at that place.

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[188] Conf. Arch., ch. I, File no. 86, p. 371; File no. 82, p. 262.

[189] Manuscript no. 3377, March 1862.

[190] General Index, Dicharry.

[191] Dated July 24, 1862; *Ibid.*

He was formally retired on August 22, 1862.[192]

GACHE, REV. HIPPOLITE (GUACHE). An undated roster mentions the commission of this chaplain as from May 18, 1862. His regiment is not known.[193] Another record is as follows:

> Appointment—July 22, 1861; by authority of Gen. Thos. C. Moore; born—France; Occup.—Preacher; Res.—New Orleans; Married or single: S.

Father Gache was present at the engagements of Dam No. 1, April 16, 1862; Williamsburg, May 4; Savage Station, June 29; Malvern Hill, July 1; Cedar Run, August 10; Manasses No. 2, August 28 to 30; Chantilly, September 1; Harpers Ferry, September 15; Sharpsburg, Maryland, September 17; Fredericksburg No. 1, December 13; Chancellorsville, May 2 and 3, 1863; Winchester, June 15; Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, July 2 and 3; Payne's Farm, November 27; Wilderness, May 5, 1864; Po, May 19; Cold Harbor, June 2; Maryland Heights, July 6; Monocacy, July 9; Snickers' Gap, July 18; Newtown, July 24; Kernstown, August 17; Leetown, August 25; Smithfield, August 29; Winchester, September 19; Fisher's Hills, September 22; Roode's Hill, September 24; Wyer's Cave, September 27; Cedar Creek, October 19; Hatchers Run, February 5 and 6, 1865.[194]

The undated roster previously cited shows that he was assigned to Danville Hospital on August 29, 1862.

A Field and Staff record further shows that Father Gache was "In the Trenches in Front of Petersburg, March 28, 1865".

HUBERT, REV. DARIUS, S.J. The cause of the South captured the sympathy of this zealous Louisiana Jesuit from the formation of the Confederacy, and during a service as chaplain throughout the whole period of the

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[192] Headquarters Department, Chattanooga, August 10; General Index.

[193] General Index, Gache.

[194] Copied from original records borrowed from Louisiana Historical Association, New Orleans. General Index.

war the correspondence concerning him contributed notably to the interesting entries in his state's military annals.

Father Hubert was appointed chaplain of Colonel Albert Blanchard's 1st Louisiana Regiment on May 20, 1861, by the Secretary of War under the government of the first secession. The appointment was accepted on May 31, and on December 24, 1861, it was confirmed at Richmond.[195]

Father Hubert went with this regiment to the Virginia front. He served in this capacity until late in 1862, when his health became impaired, and he apparently obtained a brief leave of absence. An attachment, possibly antedating the war, had sprung up between Father Hubert and his colonel, and when Blanchard was designated brigadier general, he sought to have the Jesuit appointed his chaplain, writing:[196]

> General — I ask the favor that the Revd D Hubert, Chaplain of the 1 Regiment of Louisiana Infantry, Col Shivire, be ordered to report to me for duty as Brigade Chaplain—The Rev D Hubert went to Virginia with me in May 1861, and has been on duty with the Regiment until lately when his health gave way—You appointed him on my nomination and I believe he is the oldest Chaplain in the Army, and the longest on duty.

On the folded side of this document the Assistant Secretary of War wrote "There is no such officer as brigade chaplain—The nominee may be appointed for a post or regiment only".

The next official record of Chaplain Hubert to come to light is an application for leave of absence, addressed to S. H. Chilton, Chief of Staff and Adjutant General of Virginia. Seemingly he had remained in his former field of ministration, amid the tense and bloody struggles for

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[195] Conf. Arch., ch. I, File no. 84, p. 375.

[196] Headquarters, Military District, Northern Louisiana, Monroe, La., December 2, 1862.

the capture of one capital and the intimidation of the other. The letter gives ground for the inference that Father Hubert had seen action in the field of Gettysburg:

> I have the honor respectfully to request a leave of absence for (30) thirty days for the following reasons, I am the appointed attorney [to] administer upon the Estate of the Late Lieut. Col. M. Nolan 1st La. Regt. who fell at the Battle of Gettysburg, and my presence in Richmond and Mobile during the above period is imperatively necessary to secure the interest of the deceased Widow.[197]

After providing a substitute chaplain in his place, Father Hubert received an extension of twenty days to the period requested. From the above it may be seen that this Southern Jesuit, like several of the Union chaplains, had occasion at times for extra-military duty, and one eminently in keeping with his sacred office.[198]

At the expiration of his leave Chaplain Hubert was compelled to seek medical aid, and it appeared from the physician's report that he was incapacitated for further field duty. The chaplain requested assignment to the hospitals of Richmond, citing his activity on the field since the beginning of the war, and the impairment of his health during the previous year as a consequence. The surgeon's certificate following was appended to his request:[199]

> I certify that I have frequently attended Rev D Hubert Chaplain 1st Regt. La. Vol and here state that he is the subject of Phthisis Pulmonalis attended by constant and harrassing cough severe pain and frequent hemmorhages and general debility—I have no hesitation in saying that he is utterly unfit for active duties of the field and therefore recom-

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[197] Camp 1st Louisiana, Stafford's Brigade, January 9, 1864.

[198] *Ibid.*

[199] Infirmary of St. Francis De Sales, Richmond, Va., March 9, 1864; General Index, Hubert.

mend that he be assigned to post-duty where he can have the protection in comforts of home.

A B Thomas Surgeon in charge.

Major Cormier, who had succeeded Blanchard in command of the 1st Louisiana, addressed Father Hubert a few days later as follows:[200]

Camp 1st Louisiana regt near Pisgah Church, Orange Co. Va. Rev. Father—Yours of the 10th inst has just reached me, containing the regretful intelligence of your continued ill health. In answer to your request I can only state that I am indeed too happy to be of some service to you, though it pains me to have to part with you even for a short time. In my opinion, dear Father, you have already exposed yourself too much in persisting to remain on active duty in the fields during the cold and bitter weather of the winters.

It will indeed afford me great pleasure to hear that you have obtained the detail requested, and that you will then be able to make yourself as comfortable as circumstances shall permit. Hoping that under the beneficial influence of kind treatment and less exposed mode of life, your health will soon be entirely restored and ere long, greet the men of the old First with the presence of their beloved and revered Chaplain.

Lieutenant Colonel Nilligan on the same date sent the letter below, to the Adjutant General, apparently, though the designation has been lost:[201]

Rev. Father Hubert now in hospital in Richmond has been unfit for service for some months having suffered much from a constant cough with much emaciousness and debility. He has been through many campaigns; and is one of the most faithful officers in discharge of his duty—it has ever been my good fortune to know. From my intimate knowl-

[200] March 13, 1864; General Index

[201] General Index.

edge of his condition I am sure he will not be able to resume his labors for some months.

Father Hubert was assigned on March 30, 1864, to temporary duty in Richmond by Brigadier General Winder, which was by no means a sinecure, for he had to administer to the Catholics in the various hospitals in Richmond and Manchester, under the supervision of Surgeon W. A. Carrington, the medical director.[202]

The chaplain reported on January 10, 1865, that since receiving the above designation he had attended the hospitals in question, especially the Louisiana Hospital, and held Divine Service on the appointed days.[203]

Brigadier General Blanchard evinced a deep solicitude for the religious welfare of his men, deprived of a chaplain since Father Hubert's illness, and on March 26, 1865, wrote the latter as follows:[204]

> I am going to ask of you a great sacrifice and yet I hope you will grant my request—I have been on duty since last November and in that time have been in a Church but once—there is no Catholic Chaplain in this army, and there are many who would be glad to see a priest—It is not necessary to say that I should be delighted to have you with me again.
>
> Let me then ask of you to carry the enclosed letter to Gen Cooper and if it is granted, please come to Raleigh N. C. and from thence you can come where we may be—at present we are near Smithfield Depot —Capt Quirk of N. C. is there as Provost Marshall and will forward you—
>
> I hope you will come for I need you—I have no news from my family since the fall of Columbia, S. C.
>
> Please present my respects to Bishop M'Gill and the fathers and ask them to pray for us—

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[202] Extract Special Orders no. 72, paragraph III, Headquarters Dept. of Henrico, March 30, 1864.

[203] General Index.

[204] *Ibid.*

> If you come please bring a few books, as at times I get up a discussion which the books might aid—
> So, hoping to see you soon, I remain, etc.

Enclosed was a letter to Adjutant General Cooper, preferring the indicated request. What the sequel was is not demonstrated, for the South capitulated in the following month.

Father Hubert died June 14, 1893, at St. Stanislaus' Novitiate, Vineville, Macon, Georgia.[205]

JARBOE, REV. JOSEPH T., O.P. The archives of the Confederacy reveal that this priest was chaplain of the 2d Regiment, Tennessee Volunteers. His name appears on the register containing rosters of Commissioned Officers, Provisional Army, Confederate States. His appointment is dated 1861.[206]

JORDAN, REV. WILLIAM H. The appointment of this chaplain was made by Secretary Seddon on September 2, 1863, to date from August 19. The commission to the chaplaincy of the 18th North Carolina Regiment was delivered to General Robert E. Lee.[207]

The following correspondence accounts for Father Jordan's appointment. The first letter is dated August 19, 1863, and is directed to Samuel Cooper, which reads:[208]

> I respectfully ask that Rev. William H. Jordan—of Anson Co. No Ca. be appointed Chaplain of 18th N. C. T. from 1st Aug '63. Mr. Jordan is well known to me—is a Christian gentleman and an accomplished scholar.
>
> He has been preaching for my Regt. for the past

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[205] Confed. Arch., ch. I, File no. 86, p. 365; File no. 82, p. 260; chap. 6, File no. 363, p. 407; and Special Orders, no. 68, Richmond, March 22, 1864. *Cf.* Hoffmann's *Catholic Directory*, 1894, p. 37.

[206] Conf. Arch., ch. I, File no. 87½, p. 1; General Index, Jarboe, and Files 2d Regiment Tennessee Volunteers, also *Dominicana*, Dec., 1924.

[207] Conf. Arch., ch. I, File no. 86, p. 382; no. 96, p. 126; no. 92, p. 358.

[208] General Index, Jordan.

three weeks and his labors have been quite successful. The Regt has no Chaplain.

Yours Respectfully Yr obt Sevt Jno. D. Barry Col. Comdg 18th N C T

A.G. appoint By order J A Campbell ASW 27 Aug 63.

The second letter is signed by the Lieutenant-Colonel of the 18th North Carolina Troops, and is addressed to the Secretary of War:[209]

Hon. Sec. of War: Your enquiry regarding the Revd Mr. Russell some time since appointed Chaplain of this Regt. has been received: As Mr. Russell has never reported for duty nor been heard from regarding the appointment, the Revd Mr Jordan was recommended, supposing the place to be vacant.

As in the case of many of the Confederate chaplains, the subsequent military career of Father Jordan is not officially recorded.

LE RAY, REV. FRANCIS XAVIER. This priest, later Bishop Le Ray of Natchitoches, was appointed post chaplain for the hospital at Oxford, Mississippi, on November 26, 1862. He took rank as of November 4, and accepted the commission on January 9, 1863. The commission was delivered by order of the Secretary of War to Bishop Elder, of Natchez.[210]

Evidently Father Le Ray was in service before official appointment, as one of the two letters from the Confederate archives indicates. The first is directed to Surgeon Preston B. Scott, Medical Director, and is dated May 19, 1862, General Hospital, Shelby Springs.[211]

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[209] Headquarters 18th North Carolina Troops, Sept. 14, 1863. General Index.

[210] Conf. Arch., ch. I, File no. 86, p. 377. *Catholic Encyclopedia*, X, p. 710, says that Bishop Martin "was succeeded by Bishop F. X. Leray, also a Breton, the hero of several yellow fever epidemics, and the founder of the Sisters of Mercy in the Diocese of Natchez. He remained in Natchitoches only two years, being selected as Coadjutor to the Archbishop of New Orleans. He died in 1887."

[211] General Index, LeRay.

> I have the honor respectfully to request that a leave of absence for thirty days be granted me for the purpose of attending the Sisters of Mercy who are away from this hospital, and more especially in order to provide for the wants of the Sisters who remain on duty.

The second missive is dated Jackson, Mississippi, April 24, 1863, and is addressed to Lieutenant-General Pemberton, commanding the Department of Mississippi and East Louisiana:[212]

> The undersigned respectfully requests that a pass to cross the lines to N. Orleans be granted to the following named Sisters of Charity: Sister Gabriela, Sister Mary Louis and Sister Eulalie. The two former being engaged in the city hospital of Mobile intend to return. Their object is to procure hospital supplies and also to obtain, if possible, a number of Sisters for the army of Tennessee.
>
> The latter, Sister Eulalie is from N. Orl. She has been two years in a hospital in Richmond. The health of the troops rendering her services unnecessary, she is now sent home.
>
> Hoping that their mission will be found a sufficient reason to depart from the ordinary rules of War, I remain, etc.

MANUCY, REV. D. Upon the episcopal recall of Chaplain Pellicer, Father Manucy was on January 13, 1865, appointed by Secretary Seddon's order to St. Mary's Hospital, Montgomery, as post chaplain.[213]

MEREDITH, REV. WILLIAM C. Father Meredith was commissioned by George W. Randolph on October 4, 1862, as chaplain of the 4th Virginia Cavalry, ranking from August 14th. The commission was delivered through General Lee.[214]

A report of Wickham's Brigade, Fitz-Lee's Division,

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[212] *Ibid.*

[213] Conf. Arch., ch. I, File no. 93, p. 266.

[214] *Ibid.*, File no. 86, p. 374.

dated October 3, 1864, shows that from September 14, 1864, he had been in the hospital.[214a]

Inspection Report shows him at Mechanicsville, Virginia, on February 27, 1865. Another report, dated "Nine Mile Road", March 1, 1865, shows him present with Fitz-Hugh Lee's Cavalry.

The only document on file emanating from the pen of Chaplain Meredith is the following, dated January 25, 1865, and addressed to Samuel Cooper, the Adjutant General:[215]

> In obedience to General Order no. 1, section 1st, I report as Chaplain on duty in 4th Reg. Va. Cavalry, Wickham's Brigade, Fitz-Lee's Division assigned by Commission from Geo. W. Randolph, Sec. of War, dated 14th day of August, 1862

MOUTON, REV. JOHN B. Father Mouton, of Mississippi, was appointed by order of the Secretary of War Randolph, delivered at Columbus, Mississippi, on October 4, 1862, to take rank from August 4th. His post was the hospital on the Mobile and Ohio Railroad.[216]

O'CONNELL, REV. LAURENCE P. This chaplain preceded Father Croghan as post chaplain of the hospital at Montgomery White Sulphur Springs, Virginia. Father O'Connell was appointed on November 16, 1861, by order of the Acting Secretary of War, delivered to Colonel R. H. Chilton. The commission was confirmed on September 26, 1862.[217]

Father O'Connell was relieved pursuant to the following letter, dated Charleston, South Carolina, April 18, 1863, and addressed to Colonel L. B. Northrup:[218]

> When the Sisters went to take charge of the Hospital in Greenbriar W Sulphur, subsequently established, at the Montgomery Springs, it was with the

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[214a] Inspection Report J, no. 39, Inclosure 4 of 9.
[215] General Index, Meredith.
[216] Conf. Arch., ch. I, File no. 86, p. 373.
[217] *Ibid.*, File no. 86, p. 368.
[218] General Index, O'Connell.

promise, (and the proposition came from Richmond) that the priest who would be with them should be made a Chaplain in the Army. I sent Rev. L P O'Connell who was appointed.

Two winters in the mountains have pretty well broken him down and he has had to come home and does not feel at all able to stand it any longer. I understand he would not venture to travel home except in company with a physician. Any how he wishes not to go back, and to seek a transfer. That however is his affair. I wish to send Rev C. J Croghan there to take his place, and I write to know if he can be appointed Chaplain, just as Rev L P O'Connell was. The Sisters received no remuneration whatever, and have asked for none. I have had to spend something for their vesture etc. and such articles of food as are not comprized in the rations they receive. And the additional expense of supporting a clergyman there, would be unreasonable and beyond my means.

Will you drop me a line to the Montgomery Springs or if the Commission be made out have it sent to Rev. C. J. Croghan Charleston, S. C.

My respects to Mrs. Northron and the family.

I think the Yankees will leave us in peace until they build a dozen more Monitors.

Sincerely and truly your friend

P N Lynch D.D.

(Scratched across letter): "Respectfully submitted to the Sec. of War. The writer is the Bishop of Charleston. The Sisters will not remain without a Chaplain. Economy is advanced by yielding things much. L. B. Northrup C. CSA".

O'KEEFE, REV. M. The Virginia registers show that this priest was appointed by Randolph's order on April 16, 1862, rank to date from March 24. His commission

was delivered through General B. Huger, and he was assigned to General Blanchard.[219]

O'RIELY, REV. THOMAS. Pursuant to the letter here produced, this priest, recorded as a native of Ireland, was appointed by Secretary Seddon on March 16, 1864, to date from February 9. Father O'Riely accepted his commission on April 23 of the same year.[220]

The letter here submitted is dated Atlanta, Georgia, December 21, 1863, and is addressed to General Samuel Cooper by Major D. K. M'Call, Surgeon J. P. Logan, and Colonel W. H. Wright:[221]

> We the undersigned have the honor to recommend to His Excellency the President, and the Honorable Secretary of War, for appointment as Chaplain in the Provisional Army of the Confederate States Rev. Father Thomas O'Riely, Catholic Pastor of this place. He has been performing the duties of that position to the Catholic soldiers at this Post: and also visiting the sick and dying soldiers Kingston, La Grange, Marietta, Newman and Griffin since Hospitals were established at the above named places.
>
> He is a highly educated gentleman, and a Christian in every sense of the word, and we feel and know he would discharge the duties of the position he desires with the greatest alacrity and promptness.

PELLICIER, REV. ANTHONY D. This priest, later to become Bishop of San Antonio, was appointed by order of Secretary G. W. Randolph to the post chaplaincy at the hospital in Montgomery, Alabama. According to the register of appointments, the commission of Father Pellicier was delivered to the Honorable Mr. Mallory. The fact that the latter was Secretary of the Navy leaves one a trifle uncertain in explaining the transaction. It may have been that, as in Father Bannon's case, the Bishop sought Secretary Mallory's assistance in obtain-

[219] Conf. Arch., ch. I, File no. 86, p. 370.
[220] *Ibid.*, File no. 93, p. 262.
[221] General Index, O'Riely.

ing the appointment, but we have no direct evidence in proof. Moreover, it is noted on the register of appointments that Father Pellicier was recommended by Bishop Mahoney. At any rate the commission was issued on November 3, 1862, to take rank from September 6, 1862.[222]

The files for 1863 contain these remarks under Father Pellicer's name: "For Horse—360 lbs. of corn and 420 lbs of Fodder; 1st of Apr to 30th Apr. 1863. $30 for room per month; 1 for wood: for month of Aug 1863. Salary: $80 per month".

Father Pellicier's request to Mr. Semmes, that the latter try to secure Father Manucy's appointment as the new chaplain at the Montgomery post, and also Father Pellicier's resignation, are embodied in his letter of December 2, 1864:[223]

> This letter will be handed to you by my friend Maj. LeBaron of Mobile. I take great pleasure in introducing this Major to you as a very dear friend of mine. As the Bishop has called me to Mobile, to enter a new field in the service of our Lord, I am compelled to resign my chaplaincy in the Confederate Services.
>
> You will oblige me by doing all you can to induce Genl. Cooper to accept my resignation.—send an answer by Major LeBaron.
>
> You will confer a favor on the Bishop, Father Manucy, and myself by recommending the Rev. D. Manucy as Chaplain for "St. Mary's Hospital, Montgomery, Ala." Father Manucy is to be stationed at Montgomery in my place, as he will have to attend to the Sisters in charge of the Hospital, the Catholic sick of all Hospitals here, ought by rights to be appointed Chaplain of St. Mary's Hospital under the charge of the Sisters. Please do all you can for his appointment.

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[222] Conf. Arch., ch. I, File no. 86, p. 374. Miscellaneous File no. 14, dated October, 1864.

[223] General Index, Pellicier.

Father Pellicier's resignation was accepted on December 30, 1864.[224]

PONT, REV. FRANCIS (POINT). This chaplain was a priest of the State of Mississippi. His appointment was issued by the Secretary of War at Montgomery on May 11, 1861, and accepted ten days later. Father Pont, meanwhile, reported to General Bragg at Jackson, Mississippi. The Richmond government confirmed his appointment as chaplain on December 24, 1861.[225]

The next official note we find of him is a leave of absence for ten days, issued by command of General Bragg, dated "Head Quarters, Troops C.S; near Pensacola, Fla., 3rd July, 1861".[226]

A memorandum dated December 13, 1861, shows that Father Pont had made petition for increased pay. There is no indication of its result.[227]

On March 4, 1862, Samuel Jones, Brigadier General, issued an order to Chaplain Whitfield, Quartermaster, to pay Chaplain Pont the sum of ten dollars "for expenses incurred in transportation of self and Sisters of Charity from Warrington Florida to Mobile Alabama".[228]

PRACHENSKY, REV. JOSEPH, S.J. (also spelled PRANCHENSKY and BRANCHENSKY). This priest was appointed chaplain of the 3d Alabama Regiment by order of Secretary of War dated September 5, 1861. The commission was delivered through General Huger, and accepted on September 14. Confirmation of the appointment was issued on December 24, 1861.[229]

The only further record of Father Prachensky in the Confederate archives is his resignation, as annotated:[230]

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[224] Special Orders 305, Adjutant and Inspector General's Office, Dec. 24, 1864.

[225] Conf. Arch., ch. I, File no. 86, p. 365.

[226] Special Orders, no. 125.

[227] Catch Book, p. 391.

[228] Special Order, no. 73, Abstract B, First Quarter, 1862.

[229] Conf. Arch., ch. I, File no. 86, p. 367.

[230] General Index, Prachensky.

> I have the honor to tender you this my resignation as Chaplain of the 2d Brigade—duties in the Ministry calling me to the South Western frontier.

This letter was written at Camp Sounders on February 3, and is strongly indicative of a possible change of Chaplain Prachensky from the 3d Alabama to the Louisiana Guard Artillery.

On February 5, 1862, Father Prachensky's resignation was accepted.[231]

RYAN, REV. PATRICK. A letter of Bishop Lynch to the Confederate Secretary of War explains the circumstances attending the appointment of Rev. Patrick Ryan, D.D., to be post chaplain at Charleston.[232] The letter to James A. Seddon reads:[233]

> I respectfully ask that Rev. Patrick Ryan D.D. be appointed a Post Chaplain in the Confederate Army to do duty as such in Charleston S. C. and in the Camps near that City.
>
> Since the beginning of the war, the Catholic Clergy of the City have of their own accord endeavored regularly to visit the Hospitals in the City and the Camps along the coast of S. Carolina, for the purpose of ministering to the spiritual needs of the many Catholic Soldiers there. The changes consequent on the altered situation of the City, and the approaching absence of the Bishop, make it, in my judgment, desirable that one solicit the appointment of Rev. Patrick Ryan D.D. of Charleston, S. C. to that post.

As a consequence, Father Ryan was appointed to the aforesaid post on April 13, 1864, by Assistant Secretary of War, J. A. Campbell, on the authority of Secretary Seddon.

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[231] Special Orders, no. 29, paragraph I, Adjutant and Inspector General.

[232] Conf. Arch., ch. I, File no. 93, p. 262.

[233] General Index, *op. cit.*

SCHMULDERS, REV. EGIDIUS. This chaplain is variously referred to as "Shmilders", "Schmoulders", and "Smoulders".

In a record of the Field and Staff of the 8th Louisiana Infantry, from June 19, 1861, to March 15, 1865, under the heading of "Roster of Commissioned Officers", it is observed that this chaplain was in the trenches before Petersburg on March 20, 1865. This record implies that Father Schmulders was on the rolls of the regiment between the dates named.[234]

Father Schmulder's commission was issued in August, 1861, by the authority of President Davis, according to two records, but a third dates his rank and appointment from July 4, 1861.

A muster roll shows the chaplain present at Camp Reserve on August 19, 1861; the roll for November and December, 1861, shows that from December 17 he had been on sick leave.

The rolls from January 1 to October 31, 1862, report him absent on detached service. The succeeding roll does not indicate whether he was present or absent.

According to the roll for January and February, 1863, he was marked present, as also according to subsequent rolls until August 11, 1863, when he was marked "Absent without leave since 10 July". He was reported "present" on all the remaining rolls of that year.

According to a muster roll for February 25, 1865, Father Schmulders had been engaged on detached service in Salesburg, North Carolina, since November, 1863.

As stated above, Father Schmulders was in the trenches before Petersburg on March 20, 1865. His enlistment having been "for period of war" or "for war and 12 months", according to diverse records, we may

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[234] General Index, Schmulders, Files of 8th Louisiana Infantry.

safely assume that he remained in service for the three weeks that constituted the balance of the war.

SHEERAN, REV. JAMES, C.SS.R. This chaplain is referred to in the archives under the following names, in addition to the above, which is the most usual one: Jas. Sherron; P. Sheerin; T. Sheeran; James Sheran; James Shearin, and James Sheenan.

As might be guessed, the records concerning this chaplain are decidedly involved. Nevertheless, they are sufficiently informative to permit of tracing his military career.

On a roster of the 14th Louisiana Infantry dated at Yorktown, January 13, 1862, he is noted as present, and it is remarked that he was appointed October 2, 1861. In this instance, he is referred to as "Sheeran", but in all the variants of his name it is clear that the chaplain of the 14th Louisiana is meant. Another record dates his commission from August 20, 1861.[235]

A special order for November 21, 1864, refers to the Adjutant and Inspector General's Office for information relative to Chaplain "James Sheenan", of the 14th Louisiana Regiment, but no documents on the subject are to be found among the indicated records. They may have been destroyed, as suggested in our introduction, when the fall of Richmond became imminent.

He is recorded on the regimental rosters for January and February, 1862, and January, 1863, as stationed at Ship Point, Virginia.

The rolls for January and February, 1864, show him present with regiment near Pisgah Church, Virginia. It is on this record that his commission is described as dating from August 10, 1861.

On an inspection report of York's Command, his regiment is reported near New Market, Virginia, on October 31, 1864, Father Sheeran being absent.

Another inspection report from the same place, dated November 29, 1864, again shows Father Sheeran absent.

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[235] General Index, Sheeran.

A duplicate of the same report mentions him as a prisoner of war in Winchester. So also does an inspection report for December 29, 1864.

A report from the Medical Director's Office at Richmond on March 15, 1865, under heading of Furloughs and Leaves of Absences, states that Father Sheeran was at the Louisiana Hospital in that city, and that his request for a leave of absence was approved.

The following month the 14th Louisiana surrendered with Lee. We reproduce Father Sheeran's parole:

HeadQuarters Department of Virginia
Richmond, Va. April 14, 1865

I, Rev. James Sheeran—Prisoner of War, do hereby give my solemn Parole of Honor not to take part in hostilities against the Government of the United States, until properly exchanged, and that I will not do anything directly or indirectly to the detriment or disparagement of the authority of the United States, until properly exchanged, as aforesaid.

Revd. James Sheeran, C.SS.R.

I certify that Rev. James Sheeran gave the foregoing parole in my presence, and signed it in duplicate.

John Coughlin
Lt. Col and Pro. Mar General
Department of Virginia.

WHELAN, REV. PETER (WHEELAN). All our official information about this chaplain is derived from Union sources.

On June 2, 1862, he appears on a roll of prisoners of war at Fort Columbus, New York Harbor. An undated roll states that he was captured at Fort Pulaski, Georgia, on April 11, 1862. He was discharged on parole May 10, 1862, by order of the United States Commissioners John A. Dix and Judge E. Pierrepont.[236]

To be advised in finally disposing of the case of the

[236] Prisoners of War, no. 22, p. 1.

captured chaplain, the commissioners wrote Secretary of War Stanton as follows:[237]

> The enclosed letter is in behalf of the Rev. M. P. Whelan, a Roman Catholic priest, captured by us at Fort Pulaski, Judge Pierrepont and I examined him at New York and discharged him on parole till he could be sent home. I recommend that a pass be granted to him.

A roll of prisoners of war and others sent to City Point, Virginia, for exchange on August 8, 1862, contains the remark that "Peter Whelan" was unconditionally released. The endorsement of the same roll shows: "Exchanged at Aikens Aug. 12, 1862".[238]

From unofficial sources the statement is made that Father Whelan was Chaplain-in-Chief of all the Catholic chaplains in the service of the Confederate States, but this assertion cannot be established from official records.[239]

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[237] *War of the Rebellion, Official Records*, Series II, vol. IV, pp. 268-269.

[238] Headquarters Provost Marshal, Fort Monroe, Roll no. 10.

[239] *Catholic Builders of the Nation*, I, p. 177.

## CHAPTER III

### 1866-1916

### Catholic Chaplains in the Regular Army

MESPLIÉ, REV. TOUSSAINT. The first Catholic priest to be appointed chaplain in the Regular Army after the Civil War was the Reverend Father Toussaint Mesplié, of Idaho City, Idaho. This chaplain was born in France and was appointed to the United States Army on August 17, 1872, from Idaho Territory, at a salary of $1500 per annum. On January 15, 1884, Father Mesplié was dismissed from service and, his name incidentally disappeared from the *Catholic Directory* since 1883.[1]

DUNBAR, REV. GEORGE W.[2] Father Dunbar was appointed as post chaplain from Belmont, New York, in the diocese of Buffalo, in 1876. He died as a retired officer of the United States Army on April 5, 1911.

LINDESMITH, REV. ELI WASHINGTON JOHN.[3] Father Lindesmith was attached to the vicariate of Nebraska when he was appointed in 1880 as chaplain to Fort Keogh, in Custer County, Nebraska.

DOLPHIN, REV. JOHN F.[4] In 1888, Father John Dolphin of the archdiocese of St. Paul was appointed as chaplain to Fort Snelling, Minnesota. Father Dolphin resigned from service in 1893.

LARKIN, REV. WILLIAM J.[5] Ireland was the birthplace of Father Larkin, who was appointed chaplain in

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[1] *United States Army Register*, 1873, pp, 38, 214; 1885, p. 365. A. G. O., Officers' Division, 442.

[2] *U. S. A. Register*, 1887, p. 46; 1912, p. 595. A. G. O., O. D., 442.

[3] *U. S. A. Register*, 1881, p. 20. A. G. O., O. D., 442

[4] *U. S. A. Register*, 1889, p. 53; 1894, p. 330. A. G. O., O. D., 442.

[5] *U. S. A. Register*, 1889, p. 53; 1891, p. 383. A. G. O., O. D., 442.

the Regular Army from Illinois in 1889, and was wholly retired on February 9, 1891.

VATTMANN, REV. EDMUND J.[6] Perhaps the most outstanding chaplain in the Regular Army was Father Edmund Vattmann, of the diocese of Cleveland. His career was notably brilliant in so far as he served in a chaplain's capacity during two wars, the Spanish-American War of 1898 and the World War. Father Vattmann was appointed to the Army on December 6, 1890; accepted January 7, 1891, and was assigned to the 29th Infantry on February 25, 1901. On July 21, 1903, he was transferred to the 20th Infantry; and again transferred to the 11th Cavalry on September 21, 1903. Father Vattmann was promoted to the rank of major on June 14, 1904, and retired on account of disability, September 11, 1904. Throughout the Spanish-American War Chaplain Vattmann was in service, and a few years later, was sent to the Philippines, where he arrived May 18, 1902, in time to participate in the manœuvers directed against the insurrection. Father Vattmann returned to the service during the World War, but his health did not permit him to become active to any great extent. He died September 29, 1919.

HART, REV. PATRICK J.[7] Born in Ohio, Father Hart was incardinated into the archdiocese of St. Paul, and was appointed to the Army as chaplain at Fort Snelling, Minnesota, on February 2, 1893, and accepted the appointment on February 15, the same year.

FITZGERALD, REV. EDWARD H.[8] One of the most distinguished Catholic chaplains in the Regular Army was Father Fitzgerald, of the diocese of St. Joseph, Missouri. Born in Ireland on January 16, 1863, Chaplain Fitzgerald was appointed post chaplain at Fort Sheridan, Illinois, on October 27, 1897, and accepted the ap-

[6] *U. S. A. Register*, p. 52; 1905. A. G. O., O. D., 442.
[7] *U. S. A. Register*, 1894, p. 52. A. G. O., O. D., 442.
[8] *U. S. A. Register*, 1898, p. 48; 1910. A. G. O., O. D., 442.

pointment the next day. He was assigned to the 22d Infantry on February 25, 1901, promoted to the rank of major December 14, 1907, and retired February 26, 1909. During the Spanish-American War he was at Santiago in Cuba, with the 22d Infantry; and returning in 1899, he was immediately despatched to the Philippine Islands, where he remained until February, 1902. Chaplain Fitzgerald died May 24, 1918.

McKINNON, REV. WILLIAM D.[9] Father McKinnon was mustered out of the Volunteer Army September 21, 1899, and was appointed to the Regular Army from California, October 21, 1899, and accepted the appointment six days later. He died as chaplain of the 3d Cavalry September 25, 1902, at Manila, P. I. (See Volunteer Chaplains in the Spanish-American War.)

BADER, REV. ALBERT J.[10] Father Bader was a member of the archdiocese of New York, in which he was born, although he graduated from the Seminary of St. Sulpice in Paris. He was commissioned February 2, 1901, and assigned to the 8th Cavalry July 26, 1901.

COLBERT, REV. WILLIAM.[11] A graduate of St. Thomas College and St. Paul Seminary, Father Colbert was appointed to the Army February 2, 1901, from the archdiocese of St. Paul. He was assigned to the 13th Cavalry July 26, 1901; later to the 8th Infantry, August 3, 1901.

O'KEEFE, REV. TIMOTHY P.[12] Father O'Keefe was born in Kansas, entered the archdiocese of Santa Fé, and was appointed from Nebraska to the Army on February 2, 1901. He was assigned to the 12th Cavalry. Chaplain O'Keefe was promoted to the rank of major, and was with the 5th Cavalry at Columbus, New Mexico, in 1917.

DOHERTY, REV. FRANCIS B.[13] Father Doherty

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[9] *U. S. A. Register*, 1900, p. 53; 1903, p. 502. A. G. O., O. D., 442.

[10] *U. S. A. Register*, 1902, p. 78. A. G. O., O. D., 442.

[11] *U. S. A. Register*, 1902, p. 78. A. G. O., O. D., 442.

[12] *U. S. A. Register*, 1902, p. 78; 1918. A. G. O., O. D., 442.

[13] *U. S. A. Register*, 1902, p. 78; 1920. A. G. O., O. D., 442.

studied at Mt. St. Mary's, Emmitsburg, Md., and was a graduate of St. Thomas College, Washington, D. C. He was a member of the Paulist Congregation until a few years before his death. His endeavor to become a chaplain during the Spanish-American War was frustrated by the War Department because the quota allowed by Congress was completed. However, he was appointed to the service from California on March 13, 1902; accepted April 5, and assigned to the 11th Cavalry April 15, 1902. Chaplain Doherty spent some time in the Philippine Islands, where he was on duty during the insurrection. He was promoted to the rank of major on April 5, 1914. On October 15, 1920, Father Doherty retired from the Army. He died in Palermo, Italy, December 22, 1928, and was buried with military honors in the National Cemetery, Arlington, Virginia, on January 26, 1929.

CAREY, REV. PATRICK P.[14] Born in New York, and graduated from St. Joseph's Seminary, Troy, N. Y., Father Carey was appointed from New York City on March 13, 1902, and was assigned to the Artillery Corps at New London, Connecticut, on April 23, 1902.

DALTON, REV. JAMES A.[15] Graduated from the Philadelphia schools and from St. Charles Seminary, Overbrook, Pennsylvania, although born in the District of Columbia, Father Dalton was appointed to a chaplaincy in the Regular Army March 13, 1902, and assigned to the 5th Cavalry April 23, 1902.

FERRY, REV. JOHN A.[16] From the diocese of Brooklyn Father Ferry was appointed to the Army on June 4, 1903. Chaplain Ferry was a graduate of Mt. St. Mary's College and Seminary at Emmitsburg, Maryland. He was assigned to the 10th Infantry, June 10, 1903, and was with the Coast Artillery when he resigned from the service October 9, 1913.

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[14] *U. S. A. Register*, 1902, p. 78; 1920. A. G. O., O. D., 442.

[15] *U. S. A. Register*, 1902, p. 78. A. G. O., O. D., 442.

[16] *U. S. A. Register*, 1904, p. 89. A. G. O., O. D., 442.

MURPHY, REV. ANDREW C., C.M.[17] Born in Illinois, August 13, 1868, Father Murphy graduated from Douglas Grammar School at Chicago and St. Vincent's Seminary at Germantown, Pennsylvania. He was appointed chaplain in the Regular Army September 17, 1903, and assigned to the 20th Infantry at Fort Riley, Kansas on September 21, 1903. Chaplain Murphy was appointed from Illinois. He was with the 5th Artillery when he resigned September 20, 1913.

WARING, REV. GEORGE J. (Monsignor).[18] Born January 15, 1872, in England, Father Waring was appointed to the Army from the diocese of Dubuque January 24, 1905, and was assigned to the 11th Cavalry at Fort Oglethorpe, Georgia, on February 14, 1905. Chaplain Waring was Vicar-General to the Bishop of the *diocesis castrensis* (now Cardinal Hayes) during the World War, and retired from the Army with the rank of major September 1, 1920.

JOYCE, REV. FRANCIS.[19] Father Joyce was born March 17, 1875, graduated from St. Charles College, Maryland, 1898, and from St. Bernard's Seminary, 1903. He was appointed chaplain from the diocese of Wichita, Kansas, on March 21, 1905, and was assigned to the 14th Cavalry on March 25, the same year.

CASEY, REV. JOSEPH.[20] On November 19, 1879, Father Casey was born in the State of Missouri. He graduated from the University of St. Louis and the Propaganda in Rome. On April 22, 1905, he was appointed chaplain and assigned to the 1st Infantry. Chaplain Casey resigned on January 26, 1909.

BRENNAN, REV. NEIL P.[21] Father Brennan was born in Massachusetts, November 10, 1873, and was

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[17] *U. S. A. Register*, 1904, p. 89. A. G. O., O. D., 442.
[18] *U. S. A. Register*, 1906, p. 89. A. G. O., O. D., 442.
[19] *U. S. A. Register*, 1906, p. 89. A. G. O., O. D., 442.
[20] *U. S. A. Register*, 1906, p. 89. A. G. O., O. D., 442.
[21] *U. S. A. Register*, 1908, p. 88. A. G. O., O. D., 442.

appointed chaplain September 12, 1907, from the archdiocese of Boston. Chaplain Brennan was assigned to the 8th Cavalry at Fort Robinson, Nebraska, September 26, 1907, and resigned May 1, 1910.

KUNNECKE, REV. FREDERICK L.[22] From the vicariate of North Carolina, Father Kunnecke was appointed chaplain July 2, 1908, and assigned to Fort Caswell, Southport, North Carolina. He was wholly retired in 1914.

CHASE, REV. EDWARD R.[23] Father Chase was a Monsignor in the vicariate of Brownsville, Texas, when appointed chaplain July 2, 1908. He was assigned to the 14th Cavalry at Manila, P. I., and died in service during the year 1913.

DENNING, REV. LAURENCE L.[24] Father Denning was appointed to the Army from the archdiocese of Cincinnati July 2, 1908.

DORAN, REV. MICHAEL G.[25] Father Doran was born in New York March 25, 1876, and was appointed chaplain July 2, 1908, being assigned to the Coast Artillery Corps at Fort Screven, Georgia. Chaplain Doran resigned April 14, 1915.

FEINLER, REV. FRANZ J.[26] Father Feinler was appointed chaplain from the diocese of Sioux Falls, South Dakota, May 14, 1909, and was assigned to the 13th Infantry at Manila, P. I.

RIVERA, REV. JUAN.[27] Born in Porto Rico, January 27, 1885, Father Rivera was a priest of that diocese when appointed chaplain May 14, 1909. He was assigned to the United States Porto Rico Regiment of Infantry, June 23, 1909, and resigned August 31, 1910.

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[22] *U. S. A. Register*, 1909, p. 103. A. G. O., O. D., 442.
[23] *U. S. A. Register*, 1909, p. 103. A. G. O., O. D., 442.
[24] *U. S. A. Register*, 1909, p. 103. A. G. O., O. D., 442.
[25] *U. S. A. Register*, 1909, p. 103. A. G. O., O. D., 442.
[26] *U. S. A. Register*, 1910, p. 105. A. G. O., O. D., 442.
[27] *U. S. A. Register*, 1910, p. 105. A. G. O., O. D., 442.

O'SULLIVAN, REV. DENIS B.[28] The records of the War Department show that Father O'Sullivan of 12 Tilley Avenue, Newport, R. I., was appointed chaplain (1st Lieutenant) of the 4th Field Artillery, to rank from June 19, 1909; he joined the regiment and served with it at Vancouver Barracks, Washington, from August 31, 1909 to October 2, 1909, when he resigned.

KENNEDY, REV. JOSEPH C.[29] Father Kennedy was born in Missouri, April 4, 1870; was appointed from the diocese of Oregon November 15, 1909, and assigned to the 22d Infantry at Texas City, Texas, November 20, 1909. Chaplain Kennedy resigned February 24, 1916.

HOULIHAN, REV. JAMES F.[30] Chaplain Houlihan was born in Pennsylvania, December 5, 1876, and was appointed to the Army from the diocese of Scranton, January 10, 1910, and assigned to the 5th Cavalry at Fort Huachuca, Arizona, January 26, 1910.

LANDRY, REV. ALEXANDER P.[31] Chaplain Landry was appointed in 1911 from the diocese of Oregon and assigned to the 12th Cavalry at Fort Robinson, Nebraska. He resigned April 14, 1915.

BROPHY, REV. EDWARD F.[32] From the diocese of Brooklyn, Father Brophy was appointed to the Army in 1911, and assigned to Fort McKinley, Rizal, P. I. Chaplain Brophy was with the 7th Cavalry in 1913, and at Fort Winfield Scott, California, in 1916.

KANGLEY, REV. JOSEPH M.[33] Father Kangley was appointed from the diocese of Peoria in 1912, and assigned to the Coast Artillery, Philippine Islands. In 1916 he was with the Coast Artillery at Fort William, Portland, Maine. He was retired as major November 4, 1919.

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[28] *U. S. A. Register*, 1910, p. 105. A. G. O., O. D., 442.
[29] *U. S. A. Register*, 1910, p. 105; 1918, p. 1120. A. G. O., O. D., 442.
[30] *U. S. A. Register*, 1911, p. 108. A. G. O., O. D., 442.
[31] *U. S. A. Register*, 1912, p. 116. A. G. O., O. D., 442.
[32] *U. S. A. Register*, 1912, p. 116. A. G. O., O. D., 442.
[33] *U. S. A. Register*, 1913, p. 111; 1917. A. G. O., O. D., 442.

LENEHAN, REV. JEREMIAH A.[34] Father Lenehan was born in Pennsylvania, May 1, 1874, graduated from Niagara University, and entered the diocese of Wichita, from which he was appointed chaplain December 12, 1912. Chaplain Lenehan was assigned to the 26th Infantry in Texas, and later transferred to the 14th Cavalry. On March 1, 1917, Chaplain Lenehan resigned from the service.

ARNOLD, REV. WILLIAM R.[35] Chaplain Arnold entered the Army from the diocese of Fort Wayne, December 12, 1912. He was assigned to Corregidor Island, Manila, March 13, 1913.

ROCHFORD, REV. JOHN E.[36] Chaplain Rochford was assigned to the Coast Artillery Corps at Fort Slocum, New York, March 12, 1914, after he was appointed chaplain from the diocese of Buffalo, December 3, 1913.

FEALY, REV. IGNATIUS.[37] Father Fealy was born in Missouri July 31, 1878, and was appointed to the Army from the archdiocese of Baltimore February 3, 1914. He was assigned to the 1st Field Artillery, July 1, 1914, at Schofield Barracks, Hawaii.

KELLEY, REV. THOMAS L.[38] Chaplain Kelley was born in Massachusetts, August 1, 1875, and entered the Army from the diocese of Lincoln, Nebraska, on December 27, 1914. He was assigned to the Infantry Barracks at San Juan, Porto Rico, January 30, 1915.

GRIFFIN, REV. EDWARD J.[39] From the diocese of Kansas City, Father Griffin was appointed to the Army in 1916, and assigned to the Coast Artillery, Disciplinary Barracks, Fort Jay, Governors Island, New York.

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[34] *U. S. A. Register*, 1914, p. 111; 1918, p. 1120. A. G. O., O. D., 442.
[35] *U. S. A. Register*, 1914, p. 111. A. G. O., O. D., 442.
[36] *U. S. A. Register*, 1915, p. 116. A. G. O., O. D., 442.
[37] *U. S. A. Register*, 1915, p. 116. A. G. O., O. D., 442.
[38] *U. S. A. Register*, 1916, p. 124. A. G. O., O. D., 442.
[39] *U. S. A. Register*, 1918, p. 179. A. G. O., O. D., 442.

KELLY, REV. FRANCIS A.[40] Chaplain Kelly was appointed from the diocese of Albany, May 16, 1916.

LOUGHRAN, REV. JOSEPH S.[41] Chaplain Loughran entered the Army from the diocese of Los Angeles, May 16, 1916, and was assigned to the 16th Cavalry at San Antonio, Texas.

GARRIGA, REV. MARIANO S.[42] Father Garriga was born May 31, 1886, at Point Isabel, Texas, and was commissioned May 16, 1916.

FRANCKY, REV. H. VALENTIN.[43] Father Francky was born in Ruysbroeck, Belgium, April 6, 1863, and was commissioned chaplain July 1, 1916. He served at Fort Shafter and at Schofield Barracks, Territory of Hawaii. He was discharged February 14, 1917.

## Catholic Chaplains in the Navy

The subject of Catholic chaplains in the United States Navy is not broached in history prior to 1846, when President Polk, in negotiating for the "chaplains extraordinary" concerning whom we have written under the *captatio benevolentiae* "From Fort Polk to Fort Sumpter", desired Bishop Hughes of New York to designate a priest to serve in the Navy in a status similar to Fathers McElroy and Rey.[44] Bishop Hughes was unable to spare the priests, and the matter was dropped.

Father Kilroy of Notre Dame University was tendered a chaplaincy in the Navy during the Civil War, but declined, accepting a special commission from the Governor of Indiana instead.[45]

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[40] A. G. O., O. D., 442.

[41] *U. S. A. Register*, 1918, p. 179. A. G. O., O. D., 442.

[42] A. G. O., O. D., 442.

[43] A. G. O., O. D., 442.

[44] *Catholic Builders of the Nation*, vol. III, p. 291.

[45] University of Notre Dame, The University Library, Dec. 21, 1927: "According to the records here he was certified to the President by Governor O. P. Morton for services in the Navy. Father Kilroy has written across this letter to the President that he backed out just as

The first Catholic chaplain in the American Navy was Father Parks, who was commissioned as such in 1888, under President Cleveland.

PARKS, REV. CHARLES H.[46] The first Catholic chaplain to accept an appointment to the Navy of the United States was the Rev. Charles H. Parks, of the archdiocese of New York, who was appointed April 25, 1888. Chaplain Parks was assigned to the Receiving Ship *Virginia* October 27, 1889; to the U. S. S. *Philadelphia,* 1890; to the Receiving Ship *Vermont,* 1893; to the U. S. S. *San Francisco,* 1897; to the Training Ship *Essex,* July 19, 1896; to the Training Ship *Richmond,* 1899. Father Parks resigned from the Navy January 25, 1900, and died March 31, 1907.

REANEY, REV. WILLIAM H.[47] Chaplain Reaney was appointed from the archdiocese of Baltimore on March 14, 1892. He was assigned to the Training Ship *Portsmouth;* to the U. S. S. *Charleston,* 1893; to the U. S. S. *Baltimore,* 1895; to the U. S. S. *Olympia,* April 3, 1898; to the Training Ship *Dixie,* 1899. Chaplain Reaney resigned from the Navy with the rank of captain. He died at New York City, November 18, 1915.

CHIDWICK, REV. JOHN P. (Monsignor).[48] Chaplain Chidwick was appointed from the archdiocese of New York March 2, 1895, and was assigned to the U. S. S. *Maine.* Chaplain Chidwick was blown from his cabin by force of the explosion on the ill-fated battleship while she was at anchor in the harbor of Havana, and for-

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the appointment was about to be made and had he accepted he would have been the first Catholic ever appointed to the Navy.

"On January 18th, 1863 he was appointed by Governor Morton to visit Indiana Regiments in the Department of the Cumberland as special agent of the Executive Dept. of the State. He was also authorized to receive such portions of their pay as the officers and men may wish to remit by him to their family and friends."

[46] *United States Navy Register,* 1889, p. 59; 1901, p. 140. Bureau of Navigation, Navy Department, NAV 7.

[47] *U. S. N. R.,* 1893, p. 57; 1916, p. 242. B. N., N. D., NAV 7.

[48] *U. S. N. R.,* 1896, p. 52; 1904, p. 164. B. N., N. D., NAV 7.

tunately was numbered among her few survivors. He was assigned to the Navy Yard at Washington, D. C., December 12, 1898; to the Receiving Ship *Vermont,* in 1899. Father Chidwick resigned from the Navy, September 24, 1903.

RENNOLDS, REV. LOUIS PAUL.[49] Chaplain Rennolds was appointed from the archdiocese of Baltimore, January 31, 1900. He was assigned to the U. S. S. *Newark.* On March 29, 1914, he resigned with the rank of commander.

McGRAIL, REV. JOSEPH P.[50] From the diocese of Springfield, Chaplain Joseph McGrail was appointed to the Navy, June 10, 1901. He was assigned to the U. S. S. *Dixie.*

BRENNAN, REV. EDWARD J.[51] Father Brennan was appointed to the Navy from the diocese of Hartford on December 2, 1901. He resigned October 6, 1909.

McDONALD, REV. EUGENE.[52] Of the archdiocese of Philadelphia, the Rev. Eugene McDonald was appointed October 12, 1902. During the World War he was assigned to the U. S. S. *New York,* at which juncture he had taken rank as commodore.

GLEESON, REV. MATTHEW CARLIN.[53] Chaplain Gleeson was appointed from the archdiocese of New York, October 5, 1903. He was assigned to the U. S. S. *Missouri,* on which a turret explosion occurred in 1904. Chaplain Gleeson distinguished himself on this occasion and was cited for valor by President Roosevelt, who wrote from the White House on May 21, 1904, to the Secretary of the Navy:

> In the report of Captain Cowles on the late accident aboard the Missouri particular attention is

[49] *U. S. N. R.,* 1901, p. 58; 1915, p. 236. B. N., N. D., NAV 7.
[50] *U. S. N. R.,* 1902, p. 58. B. N., N. D., NAV 7.
[51] *U. S. N. R.,* 1902, p. 58; 1910, p. 198. B. N., N. D., NAV 7.
[52] *U. S. N. R.,* 1903, p. 62. B. N., N. D., NAV 7.
[53] *U. S. N. R.,* 1904, p. 68. B. N., N. D., NAV 7

> called to the excellent and gallant conduct of Father Matthew C. Gleeson, the Chaplain of the Missouri. Father Gleeson's behavior throughout this trying ordeal was in every way such as to give legitimate reason for satisfaction and pride to all interested in the Navy, and to all therefore who believe that the Chaplains of the Navy should show courage, common sense and efficiency no less than devotion to the spiritual and material well being of those aboard the ships. It is a pleasure to record the gratification I feel in taking notice of what Father Gleeson has done.

In order to give a little more information in regard to the reasons which caused President Roosevelt to write this letter, it would be appropriate to note remarks made by two different officers on board the *Missouri* to the commanding officer in regard to Chaplain Gleeson's conduct, for Captain Cowle's commendation was undoubtedly based upon these other commendations.

Dr. J. F. Urie, who was surgeon on board the ship, in his report, made the following notation: "I wish to take advantage of this opportunity to bring to your attention the devotion to duty of Chaplain M. C. Gleeson, USN, in his work in the Sick Bay. Chaplain Gleeson was unremitting in his attention to the dying and rendered efficient aid in the care of the afflicted living."

Lieutenant-Commander W. P. Scott, an officer attached to the ship, made the following report: "First and foremost of those whom I wish to call attention to is Chaplain Gleeson, who in his endeavor to administer the last rites to the dying was the first to attempt to enter the burning turret, and although unsuccessful after persistent effort, only on account of the dead bodies being so jammed in the lower exit as to render an entrance impossible, his conduct I deemed worthy of more than special commendation."

The report of Captain Cowles was in a few words:

"Father Gleeson was everywhere assisting everyone, intermingling duty with common sense."

During the World War he was commissioned the first Fleet Chaplain of the United States Navy. After the War he was assigned to the Navy Yard at New York City. Ill health prompted him to resign, and so he was retired in 1925 with rank of commander. He died in 1927.

McGINTY, REV. JOSEPH M. F.[54] Father McGinty was appointed from the archdiocese of New York on January 16, 1905, and assigned to the U. S. S. *Constellation.* He died at Annapolis on June 24, 1915.

BRODMAN, REV. EDMUND A.[55] Chaplain Brodman was appointed from the diocese of Alton, March 16, 1910, and was assigned to the Asiatic station.

BRADY, REV. JOHN J.[56] Appointed from the archdiocese of New York, May 12, 1914, Chaplain Brady was assigned to the U. S. S. *Arkansas.*

BOUFFARD, REV. IRENEE J.[57] Chaplain Bouffard was appointed from the diocese of Providence in 1915, and was assigned to the U. S. S. *South Carolina.*

BURKE, REV. EUGENE S.[58] The archdiocese of New York sent another priest to the Navy in Chaplain Burke. He was appointed in 1915, and assigned to the U. S. S. *Connecticut,* later to the U. S. S. *Michigan.*

KRANZ, REV. GEORGE B.[59] Appointed from the diocese of Erie in 1915, Chaplain Kranz was assigned to the Atlantic Reserve Fleet, Philadelphia.

DUFF, REV. EDWARD A.[60] Chaplain Duff was ap-

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[54] *U. S. N. R.*, 1906, p. 66; 1916, p. 242. B. N., N. D., NAV 7.
[55] *U. S. N. R.*, 1911, p. 88. B. N., N. D., NAV 7.
[56] *U. S. N. R.*, 1915, p. 106. B. N., N. D., NAV 7.
[57] *U. S. N. R.*, 1917, B. N., N. D., NAV 7.
[58] *U. S. N. R.*, 1917. B. N., N. D., NAV 7.
[59] *U. S. N. R.*, 1917. B. N., N. D., NAV 7.
[60] *U. S. N. R.*, 1917. B. N., N. D., NAV 7.

pointed from the diocese of Charleston in 1916, and assigned to the U. S. S. *Nevada.*

SHORT, REV. J. C.[61] Appointed from the diocese of Green Bay in 1916, Chaplain Short was assigned to the U. S. S. *Pueblo,* Pacific Station.

## Chaplains of the Volunteer Army in the Spanish-American War

DALY, REV. WILLIAM J. B.[62] The name of William J. B. Daly is entered in the Field and Staff muster roll entry, dated Camp Black, N. Y., May 19, 1898, as chaplain of the 69th New York Infantry, mustered into service on that date. His age is given as 38 years, his birthplace, New York City. He joined the regiment there for two years' service on May 2, 1898.

Field and Staff and Brigade muster roll for June 1-30, 1898, shows him stationed at Tampa, Fla., in the capacity of captain and chaplain. He is thereafter accounted for as follows: July and August, at Camp Wheeler, Huntersville, Alabama; September, October, November and December, at Camp Albert G. Gorse, Alabama.

He is entered in the muster-out roll, dated New York City, January 31, 1909, and was discharged there at that date.

In his muster-out examination, Father Daly complained of neuralgia.

There are two letters in the regimental archives bearing on Chaplain Daly's service. The first of these is directed to Major General Brooks from Chickamauga Park, Georgia, May 31, 1898.

> Several thousands Roman Catholics attended mass here on Sunday morning and being anxious to go to Confession and Holy Communion they requested me to inform them of the possibility of the same.

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[61] *U. S. N. R.,* 1917. B. N., N. D., NAV 7.

[62] A. G. O., O. R. D., Section Spanish War, Files of the 69th N. Y. Infantry.

I learn that by requesting you to announce that we shall hear Confession here this afternoon and evening and shall read Holy Mass and give Communion here on Wednesday (tomorrow) morning. The same information can reach every regiment in Chickamauga in less than one hour. I have no other way of sending the facts and hence respectfully request you to send word of same, if convenient.

Thanking you more than words can express, I am Dear Sir, Very respectfully,

W. J. B. Daly.

The second letter is addressed to the commanding officer of the 69th New York Infantry by J. C. Gilmon, Jr., Assistant Adjutant General at Camp Albert J. Forse, and is dated November 12, 1898: "The Brigade Commander desires to know if Chaplain Daly has served in Cuba. Please answer by the Orderly bearing this note". This letter met with a negative response.

SHERMAN, REV. THOMAS E.[63] The Field and Staff muster-in roll records that Father Thomas E. Sherman, son of General W. T. Sherman, of Civil War fame, was mustered in May 16, 1898, at Jefferson Barracks, Missouri, as chaplain of the 4th Missouri Infantry. His age is given as 41 years, his birthplace as San Francisco, and, rendering the writer's research into the chaplain's religion a task less than usually burdensome, his occupation is given as "priest"; not merely "clergyman". His letter establishes his religion, to be sure; and the General's priest-son is well known, but it may here be noted that where the archives contain no correspondence to indicate it, a chaplain's religion can rarely be ascertained from the records. Unless we have *a priori* knowledge, examination of contemporary Catholic directories is a usual necessity.

Father Sherman, it further appears, enrolled for two years' service at St. Louis on May 4, 1898.

[63] *Ibid.*, Files of the 4th Missouri Infantry.

From May 16 to July 1, 1898, Father Sherman was stationed at Camp Russell A. Alger, Va. During July and August he was on detached service by order of the Secretary of War. The Field and Staff muster roll shows that he was at Military Station no. 1, Porto Rico, remarking that he was on detached service by order of the Secretary of War; and a like entry is made for November and December.

Father Sherman, as shown by paragraph 71, Special Orders no. 34, Adjutant General's Office, was honorably discharged on February 10, 1899. The muster-out roll, as recorded at Greenville, South Carolina, on that date, gives a more detailed accounting of his service than the Field and Staff rolls cited above.

The order for Father Sherman to go on detached service is contained in the letter of Adjutant General H. C. Corlin of the Second Army Corps, dated August 10, 1898, and reads as follows:

> Chaplain Thomas E. Sherman 4' Missouri ordered to proceed at once to Newport News Va to sail
>
> In accordance with your request of the 3 instant for assignment to duty in Porto Rico, the Secretary of War directs as necessary for the—(?) service, that you proceed to Newport News, Va, and report to the General Commanding U S Troops at that place for transportation on the first Government vessel sailing for Porto Rico and that upon your arrival you report to Major General Miles for duty.

Father Sherman, shortly after arriving in Porto Rico, sent the following letter to Colonel Griffin: "Will you kindly oblige me by announcing to your men or having it announced to them that I shall preach in the large church on the plaza tomorrow at the nine o'clock service, having been sent here by the Government for the benefit of Catholics in our various regiments—all denominations are invited to attend."

The communication below, addressed to the chief mustering officer, Captain E. G. Fuller, January 13, 1899,

from Camp Wetherill, South Carolina, suggests some untoward delay in the mustering out of Father Sherman and others from his regiment who were on detached service: "I have the honor to request information as to the mustering out of Father Thos E. Sherman, Chaplain of the 4th Missouri V. I. This officer is now on duty in Porto Rico. There are also men of the Regiment on duty at Santiago Cuba. I am Very respectfully J D. Rankin Captain 8th Inf."

KELLY, REV. EDWARD A.[64] Father Edward A. Kelly (elsewhere also spelled Kelley) is listed in the Field and Staff muster-in roll for May 18, 1898, as chaplain of the 7th Regiment, Illinois Infantry, mustered in on that date, being 45 years old. His birthplace is noted as Brooklyn, New York. It is further stated that he joined and was enrolled at Chicago, April 26, 1898, for two years. In addition to the customary physical description, there is the remark, "distance to rendezvous: 212 mi".

Subsequent Field and Staff rolls show him on duty from May 18 to June 30, 1898, at Camp Russell A. Alger, Virginia, with the regiment, and during July and August at Camp George C. Meade, Pennsylvania.

A muster-out roll dated Chicago, Illinois, October 20, 1898, shows him to have been mustered out in that place and on that date. It likewise states that he "joined for duty" April 26, 1898, the muster-in roll having used the words "joined and enrolled".

Regimental returns mark this chaplain "present on duty since April 26, 1898", present during June and July at Camp Alger, and on duty with regiment during August at Camp Meade. It will be noted that duplicate records covering the same dates in many cases do not scrupulously agree.

In the archives there is no correspondence relating to Father Kelly.

[64] *Ibid.*, Files of the 7th Illinois Infantry.

KIRWIN, REV. JAMES M.[65] After being acting chaplain and captain, according to Field and Staff roll (dated Galveston, Texas, June 4-30, 1898) since May 4, 1898, Rev. James M. Kirwin was commissioned by the President on June 27, to take rank from June 21, and accepted and qualified on July 2, 1898, as chaplain of the 1st Regiment, United States Volunteer Infantry.

Field and Staff roll for August, 1898, shows him present at Galveston.

Father Kirwin was absent on leave from September 16, to October 16, per General Orders 130, Adjutant General's Office, Washington, D. C., issued on August 29, 1898.

He was mustered out on October 28, 1898, at Galveston, Texas, which is noted on the muster-out roll as his place of residence.

The regimental return and other records practically duplicate the above information, giving in addition, however, his address as St. Mary's Cathedral, Galveston.

The archives contain no correspondence on Chaplain Kirwin.

Twenty years later Father Kirwin returned to the Army to serve as chaplain during the World War.

MURPHY, REV. PATRICK B.[66] There is no correspondence in the archives pertaining to Father Patrick B. Murphy, chaplain of the 9th Regiment, Massachusetts Infantry. He was mustered in at South Framingham, Mass., on May 12, 1898. Cork, Ireland, is noted as his birthplace, and his occupation, as priest. He joined and enrolled at Framingham on May 4 for two years.

Muster-out roll indicates that his discharge was delivered at Boston, November 26, 1898, and contains the following remarks: "Mustered in as Chaplain 9th Mass. Vol. Inf. May 11/98 to Nov. 6/98 per G. O. no. 130 A. G. O. Aug. 29/98 as ammended by G. O. no. 139 A. G. O. Sept. 7/98. Rejoined Regt. Nov. 6/98".

[65] *Ibid.*, Files of the 1st Regiment, U. S. Vol. Infantry.

[66] *Ibid.*, Files of the 9th Regiment, Massachusetts Infantry.

The regimental return indicates that he was present at Camp Dewey, Framingham, in May, and with his regiment during June, July, and August.

McKINNON, REV. WILLIAM D.[67] Though he subsequently became a Regular Army chaplain, the record of Father McKinnon has most interest for us in its Spanish War phase, when he served in the Philippines with the Volunteer Army.

Father McKinnon was enrolled and mustered in as chaplain and captain of the 1st Regiment, California Infantry, May 13, 1898. From May 4 to June 30, Field and Staff roll records him on board transport *City of Peking* at sea. The rolls covering bi-monthly subsequent periods from August 30, 1898 to June 2, 1899, show that he was on special duty at the headquarters of the 2nd Division, 8th Army Corps. The following dispatch is significant of the wide sphere of his actvities:[68] "Manila. (Received March 5, 1899—5.30 a. m.) Adjutant-General, Washington: Chaplain McKinnon successfully performing duties of superintendent of schools under verbal instructions; no formal orders of appointment issued. Otis".

He was relieved on June 2 by Service Order no. 148, and was present with his regiment during July on the U. S. Transport *Sherman* and during August at San Francisco. He was mustered out of the service of the Volunteer Army on September 21, 1899.

*En route* to Manila, Chaplain McKinnon dispatched the following letter to the Adjutant General:

Manila Bay June 30/98

In compliance with section 40 Article 7 U. S. Army Regulations I have the honor to submit to you my report from date of commission May 7th, 98 to June 30th.

Up to May 23rd my duties were performed in

[67] *Ibid.*, Files of the 1st California Infantry.

[68] *Correspondence Relating to the War With Spain*, vol. 2, p. 923.

camp at Presidio San Francisco; since that date on board transport S. S. City of Peking "enroute" from San Francisco to Manila.

During all of this period I held two services every Sunday (one for Catholics and one for non-Catholics). Besides visited the sick several times a day, and in general endeavored to work every day for the moral betterment of the Regiment.

I baptized two Sergeants and three Privates. Also married one Private at Presidio.

Previous to the bombardment of Guam on June 20th I volunteered to go on board of Charleston thinking my services might be needed during engagement. Offer was accepted and I went on board Sunday evening June 19th. Held two services there and returned to Peking after bombardment on June 21st.

Father McKinnon appears on list of wounded "near Manila, P. I., August 13, 1898". The data following are recorded in this connection: "nature of injury: Slight. seat of: Gluteal Muscle. missile or weapon: Mauser. treatment: Dressing. Remarks: Bullet wound Gluteal muscle".

On October 31, 1898, Father McKinnon was given 15 days leave of absence, the rolls indicating his return to duty on November 11. Records of the Second Reserve Hospital, Molate, near Manila, for October 3, 1898, to January 3, 1900, contain the information that Chaplain McKinnon was admitted into the hospital on January 6, 1899, suffering with intermittent malarial fever. (See Regular Army Chaplains.)

GLEASON, REV. JOSEPH M.[69] Father Gleason

[69] Waring, *op. cit.*, p. XXXI. The following reputed chaplains were designated by their respective bishops to serve in a private capacity, consequently their names are not recorded in the files of the War Department or the State Adjutant General: Rev. Francis P. Duffy, Rev. Gerard Spielmann, O. S. B., Rev. J. N. Connelly, and Rev. W. J. White.

served during the Spanish-American War in the Philippines with the 30th and the 21st Infantries and the 5th Field Artillery; he was also with the 6th Cavalry, and was later assigned to the Hospital Ship *Relief*. During the Boxer Rebellion he was with the army in China.

BADER, REV. ALBERT J.[70] Chaplain Bader was assigned to the 12th New York Infantry, September 7, 1898, and was honorably mustered out April 20, 1899. (See Regular Army.)

COLBERT, REV. WILLIAM.[71] Chaplain Colbert was mustered into the 14th Minnesota Infantry on May 8, 1898, and mustered out November 18, 1898.

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[70] Adjutant General's Office, State of New York.

[71] Adjutant General's Office, State of Minnesota.

## CONCLUSION

Adjutant's records are of necessity laconic; services of individuals are not characterized in them as zealous, nor deeds as brilliant. Sources of information about the service of Catholic chaplains are nearly limited to dates of muster-in and muster-out, leaves of absence and absences without leave, engagements participated in, and an enumeration of casualties. Only an occasional communication between officers is at hand to introduce enthusiastic language into military annals. It has not been possible, in view of these facts, to distinguish this work by sensational revelations regarding our Catholic military and naval chaplains. If all that has ever been written by participants in our Army's and Navy's activities in war and peace eventually gravitates to the government archives at Washington, some future scholar may chance upon discoveries that can be pronounced momentous. The present assembly of records constrains the investigator to chronicle the activities of his subjects tersely and coldly, in most cases.

Yet the facts here adduced about the Catholic chaplains are at least impressive. So much is still bruited about concerning the Catholic's sense of allegiance that his readiness to serve his country in time of stress cannot be too often proved. We might quote the number of Catholic soldiers and sailors in all our wars to demonstrate Catholic patriotism; but the service, in the numbers here indicated, of the *leaders* of Catholic thought are surer proofs of the harmony between Catholicism and love of country.

They flocked to the standards of state and nation when our country was overwhelmingly Protestant, yet so

Catholic that all dioceses stood in crying need of clergy. That the days of the Church might be long in the land to which God had sent them, the vital necessity was that that land endure; and the pastor was needed to encourage his flock in battle to that end. More prosaically, a Catholic, and a priest, is a man, and has in common with all his fellows the instinct of self-preservation whose extension is patriotism. Far from suppressing this instinct, the teachings of our Church ennoble it.

The impression is probably general that our Catholic American clergy were, until a generation ago, overwhelmingly of Irish and French extraction. If this be correct, it is curious to note among our Civil War chaplains the names of Gambetelli, Geselachowski, Miettinger, and Talladrid. In comparative isolation from their countrymen, these priests of different lands readily became Americans, just as in the World War priests of all nationalities, whose countrymen abounded in the United States, proved their Americanism by rendering chaplain service.

What may be of especial interest to Catholics are the Irish names of some Protestant chaplains during the Civil War, such as O'Callaghan, Boyle, Murphy, Sullivan, McCarthy, and so on.

It may be added that, as present regulations provide, twenty-five percent. of the Regular Army chaplains are Catholics.

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## VITA

Aidan Henry Germain was born at Brooklyn, New York, November 13, 1896. He attended public school in that city and in Amityville, Long Island. His secondary education was received at St. Johns University, Collegeville, Minnesota. In 1916 he entered the Order of St. Benedict, and in 1923 was ordained to the priesthood by the Rt. Rev. Joseph F. Busch, Bishop of St. Cloud, Minnesota. He received the degree of Bachelor of Arts from St. John's University in 1919, and in 1923-1924 was enrolled at Columbia University, New York City. In 1926 he matriculated at the Catholic University of America at Washington, D. C., where he studied ecclesiastical history under Dr. Peter Guilday and Dr. Patrick Healy; Sacred Scripture under Dr. Henry Schumacher; Archives and Manuscripts under Dr. Leo Stock; American History under Dr. Charles McCarthy; Education under Dr. George Johnson and Dr. Edward Jordan; and Economics under Dr. John A. Ryan. He received from the Catholic University of America the degrees of Bachelor of Sacred Theology, Bachelor of Canon Law, Licentiate of Sacred Theology, and Master of Arts.